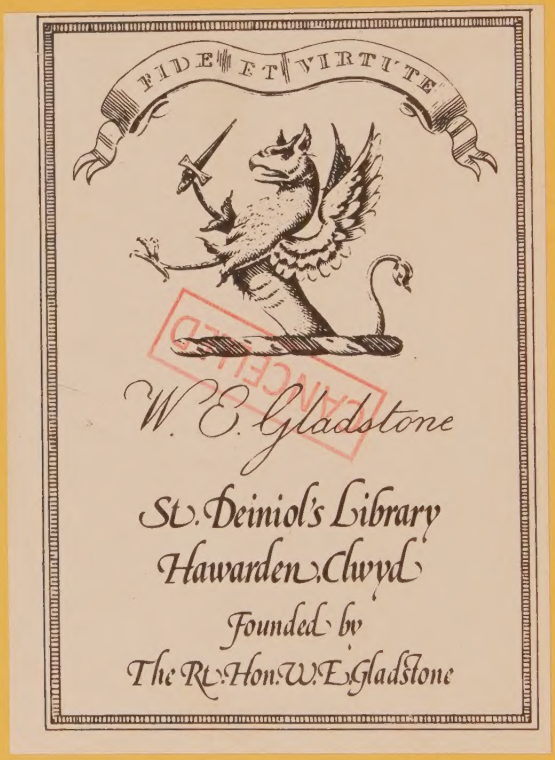
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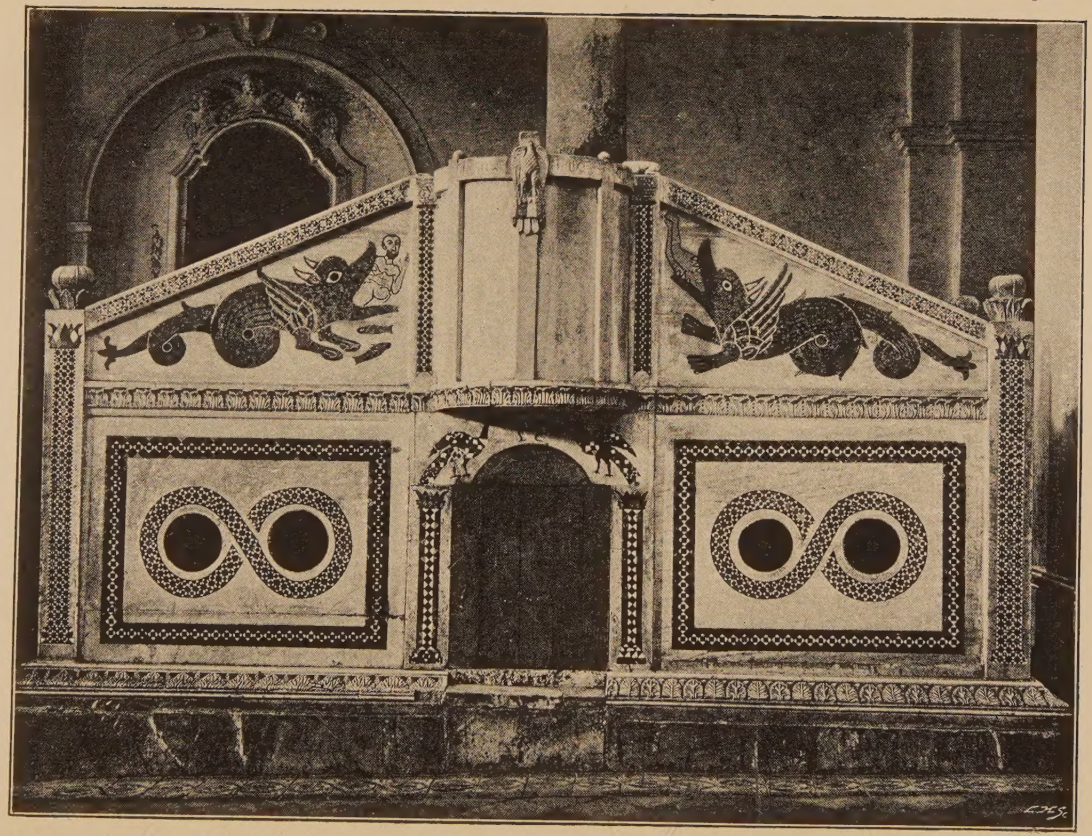

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Volume VI

Ordo Romanus Primus

With Introduction and Notes by

E. G. CUTHBERT F. ATCHLEY, L.R.C.P., M.R.C.S.

LONDON
ALEXANDER MORING, LIMITED
THE DE LA MORE PRESS
32 GEORGE STREET, HANOVER SQUARE, W.
1905

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PREFACE

THE following Introduction to the earliest *Ordo Romanus* makes no claim to originality, having no pretensions to be anything more than a compilation from the works of the numerous liturgical writers who have expounded either the whole or parts of this venerable monument of the ceremonial of the early medieval Church in Rome.

The objective which the general Editor has kept before me is the intelligent Churchman who is interested in the rites and ceremonies of the Catholic Church, but has little leisure or opportunity of examining the numerous works that deal with the whole or parts of the matters that belong to the ceremonial of solemn mass. With Lindewode[1] I may say, *presens opus non precipue nec principaliter viris scribo scientia preditis, sed potius simpliciter litteratis et pauca intelligentibus:* but I fear that I cannot go on to claim for this Introduction even the modest estimate at which Lindewode appraises his *Provinciale* as a book for students, for it is unlikely that such as they will find anything therein of which they are not already fully aware. It is in consequence of the above-mentioned objective that

[1] *Provinciale*, Lib. II.: tit. *De foro competenti*: cap. *Contingit aliquando*: verb. *Commenta*.

the use of Latin has been almost entirely restricted to the notes, and English used practically throughout. It is hoped that the average Churchman will hereby be enabled to bring before his mind a picture of a Roman church, and the ceremonies that were used at a public mass therein, as they were in the eighth century of the Christian era.

The chief books of which use has been made in the following pages are, first of all, Abbé Fleury's delightful *Les Moeurs des Chrestiens* (Paris, 1682); Mgr. Duchesne's *Origines du Culte Chrétien* (Paris, 1898); Mabillon's Commentary in the second volume of his *Museum Italicum;* Scudamore's *Notitia Eucharistica* (2nd Edition, 1876); and the Rev. J. O. Reichel's *Solemn mass at Rome in the ninth century* (London, 1895).

I have to thank numerous friends and others who have helped me by answering various questions, looking out references, and the like: and specially Mgr. Duchesne, who has been most kind in explaining many things to me a complete stranger; the Rev. W. H. Frere, for setting me right about the manner of chanting the various anthems at mass; Mr. F. C. Eeles, who has been ever ready to verify and obtain quotations from books that were out of my reach; and, of course, Dr. Wickham Legg, whose good-nature must have been often strained by my repeated questions.

For the loan of blocks, wherewith to illustrate this book, I have also to thank first Mr. Francis F. Fox, F.S.A., who has been kind enough to lend the three pictures of ambones: and the Rev. H. Thurston, S.J., for the picture of the Consul Anastasius Probus, 517 A.D.

In Appendix I. a text and translation of *Ordo Romanus I.* appears. The Latin text is a conflation of Mabillon's and Cassander's: in the absence of a thoroughly critical edition this seemed the best course to pursue, in spite of all that may be urged against it.

Appendix II. is a translation of the text of the *Ordo Romanus* of St. Amand printed by Duchesne in his *Origines du Culte Chrétien.*

Appendix III. is an attempt to reproduce the ritual of solemn mass of Easter day, as it was sung at about the end of the eighth century. The anthems are taken from the Gregorian Antiphoner, the collects, etc., from the Sacramentary of Hadrian, and in the text of the canon the readings of Mr. Edmund Bishop's "Recension A" have been followed, taken from his paper in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, July 1903, vol. iv., pp. 555 *sq.*

In Appendix IV. will be found collected together what is known of the African Liturgy, chiefly from the works of St. Austin, but with a few notices from other authors before and since his time. No complete liturgy of this part of the Church is known to exist, and the fragmentary allusions are few. The scheme is included here, as it gives some notion of the rite of a Church which closely accorded to that of Rome; shown in even such details as the position of the kiss of peace, and in the particular development of the people's prayers. No one has found any hint in St. Austin's writings that there was any difference between the rite of Africa and that of Milan; but that is far from sufficient to show that the two rites were identical. Still, what is known as the Gallican rite may be

the old Latin rite of all the Latin speaking countries, so far as the main ritual features are concerned: and the African rite may at any rate illustrate that particular variety of the old Latin rite which prevailed at Rome before the later Roman, founded on an amalgamation of the Greek rite in synchronous use with it at Rome, supplanted it.

Where a word or a passage is corrupt and has been left unemended, the fact is called to the reader's attention by means of an obelus.

E. G. CUTHBERT F. ATCHLEY.

August 25, 1904.

CONTENTS

PART I

INTRODUCTION
THE CHURCH, ITS MINISTERS, AND THE ORNAMENTS THEREOF

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION, ...	3
SECT. i. The Basilica, ...	9
ii. Lights, ...	15
iii. Incense, ...	17
iv. The Altar, ...	18
v. The Confession, ...	22
vi. The Ambo, ...	*ib.*
vii. The Sacristy, ...	23
viii. The Gates, ...	24
ix. The Sacred Vessels, ...	*ib.*
x. Liturgical Costume, ...	26
xi. Stations, ...	32
xii. Hebdomadary Bishops, . . .	33
xiii. Hebdomadary Presbyters, . . .	34
xiv. Deacons, and their Hostelries, . .	*ib.*
xv. Holy Orders, ...	36
xvi. Subdeacons, ...	37
xvii. Collets, ...	38
xviii. Minor Orders, ...	39
xix. College of Singers, ...	40
xx. Cubicularii, ...	41
xxi. Papal-Vicar, ...	42

PAGE

SECT. xxii. College of Notaries, ... 43
xxiii. Almoner, ... 49
xxiv. Sacristan, ... *ib.*
xxv. Counsellor, ... *ib.*
xxvi. Sextons, ... 53
xxvii. Titular Church, ... 54

PART II

SOLEMN MASS AND ITS RITUAL

INTRODUCTION, ... 58
SECT. i. The Introit, ... 64
ii. The Kyries, ... *ib.*
iii. Gloria in Excelsis, ... 71
iv. The Collect, ... 72
v. The Scripture Lessons, . . . 73
vi. The Sermon, ... 79
vii. The Creed, ... 80
viii. The Dismissals, ... 81
ix. The Offertory, ... 82
x. The Offertory Anthem, . . . 88
xi. The Preface, ... 89
xii. Sanctus and Benedictus, . . . 90
xiii. The Canon, ... 96
xiv. The Recital of the Names of the Living, . 99
xv. The Memento for the Departed, . . 100
xvi. The Form of Consecration, . . 102
xvii. The Sacring, ... 103
xviii. Pater Noster, ... *ib.*
xix. The Sancta and the Fermentum, . . 106
xx. Agnus Dei, ... 109
xxi. The Kiss of Peace, ... 110
xxii. The Words of Administration, . . *ib.*

PAGE

SECT. xxiii. The Communion of the People, . . 111
xxiv. The Post-Communion Collect, . . 112
xxv. Alms and Collections of Money, . . *ib.*
xxvi. Concelebration, ... 113

APPENDIX I,

Latin Text with English Translation of *Ordo Romanus Primus*, ... 116

APPENDIX II,

An *Ordo Romanus* from a ninth century MS of St. Amand (*c.* 800 A.D.), rendered into English, 153

APPENDIX III,

The Roman Liturgy of the eighth century, with the Forms proper to Easter day, and Rubrical Directions from the Gregorian Sacramentary, *Ordo Romanus Primus*, and the *Ordo* of St. Amand, ... 169

APPENDIX IV,

The Liturgy of the (civil) Diocese of Africa at the time of St. Augustine of Hippo, *c.* 400 A.D., . 181

INDEX, ... 189

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATE AT PAGE

I. The older of the two ambones at Ravello: showing the stairs on either side. On the one side is shown the whale swallowing Jonah: on the other Jonah's release, *Frontispiece.*

II. A Picture in Mosaic on the left side of the altar in the church of St. Vitalis, at Ravenna, of the sixth century. The church was built in 526 on the site of the saint's martyrdom: and consecrated by Maximianus in 547. In the Life of that bishop in the *Liber Pontificalis* of Ravenna, compiled by Agnellus (in Muratori, *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, Milan, 1723; t. ii, p. 107), we read: 'Et in tribuna beati Vitalis eiusdem Maximiani effigies atque Augusti et Augustae tessellis valde computatae sunt.' The Emperor Justinian and Maximianus (twenty-sixth bishop of Ravenna, 546–562) are in the centre of the picture: the former holding an offering-dish, or bowl of some sort, the latter a cross. With the bishop are two clerks, one of whom carries a *textus* or Book of the Gospels, and the other a censer. All three wear a long white garment reaching to the feet, with full wide sleeves: a narrow black band passes over both shoulders to the bottom of this garment, which is the linen dalmatic. The stripes were known as *clavi*. This is an early form of the surplice, alb, and rochet. The bishop also wears a dark olive-green chasuble (*planeta* or *paenula*), and over it the episcopal scarf known as the *pallium*, which is white and fringed, and marked with a cross. Notice the left hand under the chasuble, an attitude frequently mentioned in *Ordo I.* There is no stole: the *pallium* takes its place, . . 1

III. The interior of the Basilica of St. Mary Major at Rome (also called *ad Praesepe*, and the Liberian basilica). It was rebuilt by Pope Sixtus II, c. 435. The ciborium,

PLATE AT PAGE

or canopy over the altar, here represented, was set up in the time of Pope Bennet XIV. Notice the tribune, and the seats all round the apse: part of the bishop's throne can be made out behind the altar. From C. C. J. Bunsen, *Die Basiliken des christlichen Roms*, München, no date; plate x, ... 10

IV. The Basilica of SS. Nereus and Achilleus at Rome. Below the altar may be seen the grating of the Confession. On either side of the tribune is an ambo, and another pulpit on the left. The ciborium, or canopy over the altar, is well shown. The mosaics over the arch are of the time of Pope Leo III (795–816). From C. C. J. Bunsen, *Die Basiliken des christlichen Roms*, München, no date; plate xxvii, ... 22

V. The 'Chalice of Gourdon' is the earliest extant. It is two-handled, and made of gold, ornamented with thin slices of garnet or garnet-coloured enamel. With it were found 104 gold coins, the latest of which were of Justin I (θ 527), and were fresh and unworn. Consequently, the chalice is probably not of later date than the beginning of the sixth century, and may be even older.

A gold dish, probably a rectangular paten, was also found. It is decorated with a border of lozenges, with trefoils at the angles. The outline of these ornaments is formed by thin lines of filagree gold set edgewise upon the plate. They are filled with a garnet-coloured enamel. In the centre of the dish is a cross of similar workmanship.

Gourdon is in the department of the Haute-Saône, France: and the vessels are in the Bibliothèque National, Paris.

From La Barte, *Histoire des Arts*, iv, 492; album i, plate xxx, ... 24

VI. A Picture of a Woman, Heliodora, dressed in a *paenula*, in the attitude of an *orante*. Note the *clavi* or stripes on the dress: it is not so common to find them on the *paenula* as on the dalmatic. The picture is from the cemetery of Marcellinus and Peter at Rome. After Marriott, *Vestiarium Christianum*, plate v, . . . 27

PLATE AT PAGE

VII. There is every reason to believe that this is a contemporary picture of ST. GREGORY THE GREAT AND HIS FATHER AND MOTHER. It accords completely with the description of the same in his Life (Lib. iv: cap 84) by John the Deacon (c. 870). The pope and his father Gordianus the senator both wear dalmatics, and chestnut-coloured chasubles or *planetae* over. Even his mother Silvia wears dalmatic and *planeta*. St. Gregory is distinguished by the white *pallium*, draped about his shoulders, and is holding a *textus* in his left hand which is under his planet. Note the identity of the senatorial and episcopal costume, save for the pallium. After Baronius and Marriott, . . 29

VIII. FLAVIUS ANASTASIUS PAULUS PROBUS, CONSUL OF THE EAST, 517 A.D. From his diptych in the South Kensington Museum. The consul is represented at the most solemn act of his inauguration, when he is about to give the signal to start the horses in the arena, by throwing down his handkerchief or *mappula*. Note the manner in which the broad scarf is disposed. It is an official scarf, prescribed by the *Theodosian Code*, called a *pallium*: and of the same character as the episcopal pallium.

The figure on the right, holding the orb, is the Byzantine Emperor Leo VI, who came to the throne 886. That on the left is the Emperor Michael Palaeologus, θ 1282, 31

IX. AN *ORANTE* OR FIGURE IN THE ATTITUDE OF PRAYING, dressed in a dalmatic. Note the *clavi* or stripes, and the wide sleeves. From the cemetery of Marcellinus and Peter at Rome. After Marriott, *Vestiarium Christianum*, plate v, 36

X. A PICTURE OF SS. CORNELIUS (pope 251–2) AND CYPRIAN (bishop of Carthage 248–58). They are vested in brownish planets, and white dalmatics with very big open sleeves. Both wear *pallia*, and support a *textus* with the left hand under their planets. The painting is on the right hand of the sepulchre of St. Cornelius. De Rossi remarks that these pictures are in the Roman Byzantine

PLATE AT PAGE

style, and are certainly not older than the seventh century: perhaps they may be as late as the time of Leo III. From G. B. de Rossi, *La Roma Sotteranea Christiana*, Roma, 1864–77; t. i, tav. vi, and pp. 298 *sq.*, . . 57

XI. A PICTURE OF ST. XYSTUS (pope 257–9) and another bishop (? Optatus), from the left-hand side of the sepulchre of Cornelius. See the previous note. From G. B. de Rossi, *La Roma Sotteranea Christiana*, Roma, 1864–77; t. i, tav. vii, ... 64 or 65

XII. THE QUIRE AND APSE OF THE UPPER CHURCH OF ST. CLEMENT, ROME. The illustration shows the position of the three ambones, the chancel or screen around the quire, and the ciborium. The upper church was erected c. 1100 by Cardinal Anastasius, who died before its completion. It was consecrated 26th May, 1128. The screen and ambones were removed from the ruins of the older church and replaced in the upper, in their present position. The greater part of the screen is of the sixth century. In replacing the quire, the gospel ambo has been placed on what is in fact the epistle-side of the old basilican altar (*Hand-book to Christian and Ecclesiastical Rome*, London, 1897; Pt. i, pp. 214 *sq.*), ... 77

XIII. A PICTURE IN MOSAIC on the left side of the tribune in the church of St. Apollinaris in Classe at Ravenna: representing the emperor granting the Privileges of the Church of Ravenna to the bishop, who is attended by two clerks, one carrying a censer and the other something else. Behind the bishop are two other figures, apparently also bishops. In the Life of Reparatus, 35th bishop of Ravenna, Agnellus describes this mosaic as follows: 'Et iussit ut eorum effigies et suam in tribunali cameris beati Apollinaris depingi et variis tessellis decorari, ac subter pedibus eorum binos versus metricos describi continentes ita:

Is igitur socius meritis Reparatus ut esset
Aula novos habitus fecit flagrare per aevum.

Et super caput imperatoris invenies ita:

Constantinus maior Imperator.
Heraclii et Tiberii Imperator.'

PLATE AT PAGE

Agnellus proudly adds, speaking of Reparatus: 'Verus pastor pie cum ovibus vixit. Non sub romana se subiugavit sede' (Muratori, *Rer. ital. Script.*, t. ii, 148). Reparatus was archbishop of Ravenna in the seventh century, . 114 & 115

XIV. A PICTURE OF THE GOSPEL-AMBO AT ST. CLEMENT'S, ROME. As it now stands it is probably of the twelfth century: the double one opposite it may be of the sixth. See note to plate xii, ... 150 & 151

XV. THE AMBO AT ST. APOLLINARE NUOVO, RAVENNA. This church was built c. 500 for Arian worship: it passed to the Catholics in 570. In the ninth century the relics of St. Apollinaris were brought hither from Classe, and it thence obtained its present name. The upper part of the ambo is probably part of the original church, . . 178

Ordo Romanus I.]

[*Preceding page* 1

Part I

Introduction

The Church, its Ministers, and the Ornaments thereof

PART I

INTRODUCTION
THE CHURCH, ITS MINISTERS, AND THE ORNAMENTS THEREOF

THE document commonly known as *Ordo Romanus Primus* is a directory of the ceremonies of solemn or public mass, celebrated in Rome by the pope himself (or his deputy), at which all the clergy and people of the Church of Rome were present or at least represented, and in which they all fulfilled their several functions in the exercise of that royal priesthood which St. Peter tells us is the common property of the body of baptized Christians.

Ordo I, as printed in Mabillon's[1] *Museum Italicum*, is based upon a St. Gallen MS, with readings from three other MSS, all four belonging to the ninth century. But although the whole of Mabillon's *Ordo I* existed in its present state in that century, yet it is not all purely Roman, nor are all parts of it of the same antiquity. The oldest part, and the purely Roman, is contained in the first twenty-one chapters, and is found in several MSS without the additional matter of the St. Gallen MS; and it is this part which gives the ceremonies of the stational mass.

The text of the *Ordo* which is now set before the reader is based upon that of Mabillon, with a few readings taken from the version printed by George Cassander,[2] and one from Mabillon's *Ordo III*, a Roman *Ordo* of the ninth century, representing the Roman ceremonies as used by some bishop subordinate to the Roman See.

The *Ordo* of St. Amand, of which an English translation will be found after *Ordo I*, has been printed by Duchesne

[1] Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, Luteciae Parisiorum, 1689; t. ii, pp. 3 *sq.*

[2] George Cassander, *Ordo Romanus de Officio Missae*, Coloniae, 1561; fol. 24 *verso, et sq.*

from a MS of the ninth century (c. 800) which once belonged to the Abbey of St. Amand en Puelle.[1] It describes the stational mass as celebrated by the pope, but varies in some respects from *Ordo I*, and may be regarded as an unofficial description drawn up for the benefit of some church, perhaps in Gaul, desirous of adopting the ceremonial of the Court of Rome.

We now come to the question of the date of *Ordo I* taken as a whole. The Ravennese mosaics show that the ceremonial entry with the censer was probably in vogue before the middle of the sixth century ; and many other indications point to the substance of the ceremonial being of the same date or even earlier. But when we come to details, the case is different. There are certain features in it which we know to have been introduced by St. Gregory the Great (*ϑ* 604): thus the grail is sung by a *cantor* and not by a deacon, in accordance with the decree of the Roman Council of 595 ; *Pater noster* is sung before the *Pax* and the Fraction ; and *defensores regionarii* are mentioned, a dignity originated by St. Gregory.

Our *Ordo* designates the Lateran Palace as *Patriarchium*, a title not found in the *Liber Pontificalis* before the Life of Pope Sergius I (687–701) : previously, in the Lives of Severinus (638–639), of Theodore (642–649), and of Conon (686–687) it appears as the *Episcopium Lateranense*.

The anthem *Agnus Dei* was brought in by Pope Sergius I, to be sung at the time of the fraction ; yet it appears in *Ordo I*.

The subdeacon-oblationer, who brought the pope's offering-loaves from the Lateran, and offered them in his name, is first heard of in the *Liber Pontificalis* in the Life of Pope Gregory III (731–742) ; the passage, however, is not so clear as to prove that this official was initiated by that pope, although he certainly first ordained that he should bring the loaves from the Lateran to the stational church.

The court-officer known as the *Nomenclator* is first

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[1] L. Duchesne, *Origines au Culte Chrétien*, Paris, 1898 ; pp. 440 *sq.*

heard of in the Life of Agatho (678–681); but he may well have existed earlier, so that this too gives no certain help towards defining the date of the *Ordo*. Nor does the presence of the hebdomadary bishops of the Lateran, who are first mentioned in the Life of Stephen III (768–772); for the passage in the *Liber Pontificalis* naturally means that the bishops were there before, but Stephen ordered that they should celebrate at St. Peter's altar, and sing *Gloria in excelsis* at their masses.

But we must examine these points a little more closely. St. Gregory the Great tells us that in his new use *Kyrie eleison* was said by the clerks, and the people made answer. But in *Ordo I* the *Schola Cantorum* sing it alone, and the people do nothing. Development had taken place, and in the usual Roman direction, gradually eliminating the people's active part in public worship.

Sergius I, when he introduced *Agnus Dei*, appointed that it was to be sung by clergy and people. But in *Ordo I* the people have no part in it, and the *Schola Cantorum* sing it alone. Here again there has been development, and in the same direction.

In the Gelasian Sacramentary the canon begins with *Sursum corda*, as is shown by the rubric preceding those words: *Incipit Canon Actionis*.[1] This book is in substance a Roman book of the sixth or seventh century: modern opinions seem to favour the earlier rather than the later date. It has numerous Gallican additions, but this rubric is not one of them, for in the ninth century the canon of the Romano-Gallican rite began[2] at *Te igitur*. Now in *Ordo I* the canon begins after *Sanctus*, as is clearly shown by the following direction: 'And when they have finished it [*Sanctus*], the pontiff rises alone, and enters on the canon.' But further on we read: 'When the

[1] So, too, in the Life of St. Sixtus (107–116), *Liber Pontificalis* tells us that he appointed that *Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus*, etc., should be sung by the people, *intra actionem*.

[2] Yet Amalar writes: 'medio canone, id est cum dicitur *Te igitur*' (*De ecclesiast. offic.*, L. III: c. xxvii).

pontiff begins the canon, a collet comes near, having a linen cloth thrown around his neck, and holds the paten before his breast on the right side, until the middle of the canon.' After the offertory the paten is not used until the communion ; there is no room for it on the altar, which is occupied with the loaves and the chalices. It is natural to suppose that the collet takes charge of it as soon as it is no longer needed for the offertory. If this is so, we have evidence that the word 'canon' has two meanings, belonging to different dates, in the same document : in other words, that *Ordo I*, as we now have it, is a revised version of an older directory, belonging to a time when the canon began at *Sursum corda*, which was revised at a time when it began at *Te igitur*.[1]

This conclusion tallies with what we gathered from the manner of singing *Agnus Dei*. Sergius († 701) introduced it at the end of the seventh century ; but considerable alterations in the manner of singing it had taken place before *Ordo I* was drawn up, and so that is of later date than 700, but existed c. 800. We have, then, to find evidence of a reform of the ceremonial at some period between these dates : and Professor Dr. Probst points out that we have the required evidence in the *Liber Pontificalis* in the Life of Stephen III. There we read : *Erat enim hisdem praefatus beatissimus praesul ecclesiae traditionis observator : unde et pristinum ecclesiae in diversis clericatus honoribus renovavit ritum. Hic statuit ut omni dominico die a septem episcopis cardinalibus ebdomadariis, qui in ecclesia Salvatoris observant, missarum solemnia super altare beati Petri celebraretur et Gloria in excelsis Deo ediceretur.* In this passage Pope Stephen appears before us as *ecclesiae traditionis observator*, an upholder of ecclesiastical traditions, and a renovator of the pristine rite of the Church in the several ranks of the clergy. As an example of the latter, is brought forward the instance of the seven hebdomadary bishops at the Lateran, to whom was granted the privilege

[1] Ferdinand Probst, *Die ältesten römischen Sacramentarien und Ordines*, Münster-i.-W., 1892 ; p. 392.

hitherto reserved to the pope of celebrating at St. Peter's altar and using *Gloria in excelsis*.

Stephen's renovation of the pristine rite in the several ranks of the clergy appears in n. 1 of our *Ordo*. We are told there of a *prisca statutio*, an ancient constitution, dealing with the days allotted to the several districts of Rome: Stephen's renovations may well have been such things as the provision for various accidents not contemplated or wanting in the ancient regulations, such as, for example, the death of a district deacon, the internal strifes and contentions of the several orders, etc.; as the inclusion of various court-officials in the ceremonies of public mass who sprang into existence after the time of Gregory the Great; and, generally speaking, the adaptation of the *prisca statutio* (which is the expression of the *pristinus ritus* of *Liber Pontificalis*) to the needs of the enlarged Court and changed customs. His reverence for tradition is then seen in his taking this old rite as the basis for the new. Dr. Probst thinks that in § 4 we have the older, and in §§ 2 and 3 the Stephenian arrangements: though if so, § 4 is not the original, as the mention of the hebdomadary bishops and the *Diaconiae* witnesses. But §§ 5–21 inclusive may well have been the original Gregorian ceremonial worked up by Stephen: § 22 must be regarded as part of Stephen's innovations, preserving, however, the spirit of the older rite.

Ordo I must therefore be looked upon as having been drawn up c. 770 by Stephen III, but founded upon a similar document of the sixth century.[1]

It is sometimes stated that Amalar of Metz commented on *Ordo Romanus I* in his book *De officio missae*, and on *Ordo II* of Mabillon's collection in his *Ecloga*. This is not so. Amalar in the former work deals with an *Ordo* closely akin to *Ordo II*. Thus in cap. v, treating of the kiss of peace at the commencement of mass, he quotes from his *Ordo*:—*in ipsa inclinatione dat pacem ministris qui a dextris*

[1] F. Probst, *Die ältesten römischen Sacramentarien und Ordines*, Münster-i.-W., 1892; p. 395.

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laevaque sunt. This is not in *Ordo I*, but is very similar to *Ordo II*, § 5. The change in the order of the candlesticks when the bishop goes to his throne is not noted in *Ordo I*, but the direction is also different from that prescribed in *Ordo II*. The alternative salutation *Dominus vobiscum* to the episcopal *Pax vobis*, mentioned by Amalar in cap. ix, is given in *Ordo II*, § 6, but not in *Ordo I*. Again, neither the signing of the forehead before the gospel, nor the laying aside of staves, nor the extinguishing of the candles after the gospel, is mentioned in *Ordo I*: but all occur in *Ordo II*. Incense is used at the offertory according to Amalar, as in *Ordo II*, but not so in *Ordo I*. Amalar quotes almost verbatim from *Ordo II*, § 9, in his cap. xix, concerning the offering by the priests and deacons, who are permitted to approach the altar: and so on. Enough has been adduced to show that *Ordo I* was not the *Ordo Romanus* on which Amalar commented.

Nor was it *Ordo II*. For there is no mention of the mass-creed; and other details show that his *Ordo* was not exactly the same as that printed by Mabillon.

Ordo Romanus II is a Gallican recension of *Ordo I*, of the time of Charles the Great or his immediate successors; and while it follows on the lines of its exemplar, it introduces many Gallican features. The period during which it was constructed was one in which, all over the Frankish dominions, various combinations of the Roman and Gallican rites were being effected; and the second, fifth, and sixth *Ordines Romani* of Mabillon are varying examples of the process. Without doubt there were many more of the same kind, all differing one from another in minor details; and the *Ordo* upon which Amalar based his work belonged to a type akin to, but not identical with, *Ordo II*.

We can now pass on to a consideration of the church and its ornaments, and the different ecclesiastical ministers and functionaries which are mentioned or alluded to in our *Ordo*.

§ i. *The Basilica.*

The basilica of pagan Rome [1] was a large hall used as a court of justice, and a place of meeting where merchants transacted their business. In shape it was oblong, and usually had an apse at one end ; this end was raised above the level of the rest of the hall, and known as the *Tribune*. In the centre of the apse was the curule chair for the praetor or the prefect, and on either side seats for the judges (*iudices*) and the advocates. In front of the curule chair, near the centre of the chord of the apse, was, in imperial times, a table.

Certain high officials of the empire were granted particular ensigns of office, which were borne before them when they proceeded to hold their public Court of Justice. Thus the prefects for the city at Rome and at Constantinople, like the praetorian prefects of Italy and the Orient, when they made their public procession to their Court, had lighted candles and the *Liber Mandatorum*, or book of the Emperor's decrees, carried before them. When they arrived at the Tribune they ascended it, and took their seat in the curule chair, the *Liber Mandatorum* being set on the table before them and the candles on either side.[2]

In the fifth century incense does not appear amongst the ensigns of the vicars or of the prefects : in the time of Horace, however, it would seem that incense was used.[3] Both incense and lights appear among the imperial ensigns, and Cicero tells us that incense and candles [4] were burned before the statues of popular heroes in the streets. At the

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[1] W. Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, London, 1842 ; *s.v.* Basilica, p. 130 *sq.*

[2] *Notitia Dignitatum Romani Imperii* (first half of the fifth century), in J. G. Graevius, *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Romanorum*, Traject. ad Rhen. et Lugd. Batav., 1698 ; t. vii, 1392, 1397, 1648, 1656, 1791, 1798.

[3] Q. Horatius Flaccus, *Satirae*, Lib. I: sat. v: l. 36. Theodor Mommsen points out that Aufidius Luscus the praetor must have been a Roman, as the highest official at Fundi was only an aedile, and the *latus clavus* belonged only to the *Senatores* of Rome, and not to the class of *Decuriones* (*Römisches Staatsrecht*, Leipzig, 1887 ; bd. i, p. 423).

[4] M. T. Cicero, *De Officiis*, Lib. III: cap. xx: § 80.

time of the seventh general Council, the emperor's portrait was honoured in a similar manner by the people throughout the empire.[1] As late as the tenth century, incense was solemnly burned before the emperor in full court, when he was about to create a patrician or a proconsul;[2] and lighted candles appear among the royal ensigns at the sacring of our own king Richard Cœur de Lion,[3] and also amongst those of the doge of Venice.[4]

The Peace of the Church under Constantine materially affected her rites and ceremonies. She took over the basilicas, and converted them into places of worship, for which they were eminently fitted. Ausonius[5] seems to refer to this transformation in his letter of thanks to the Emperor Gratian for his promotion to consul, when he tells the emperor that 'the basilica, at one time full of business, now is full of prayers, and prayers offered for thy good estate.' And with the buildings the Church took over some of the civil ceremonial. The bishop's throne replaced the curule chair in the centre of the apse, the seats of the judges and the advocates were now occupied by the presbyters: the altar supplanted the table. And when the pope entered in solemn procession he was preceded by a book of the gospels instead of the *Liber Mandatorum*, by incense, and seven lighted candles. They took the same seats as the prefect and his attendants had occupied, they wore the same kind of clothes. The gospel-book was laid on the altar, and the candles set below. The resemblance, save for the incense, is complete.

The earliest mention of the use of incense in public

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[1] In the speech made by Theodosius. Compare the letter of Pope Hadrian to Constantini and Irene in 772 (Migne, *P.L.*, xcvi, 1228).

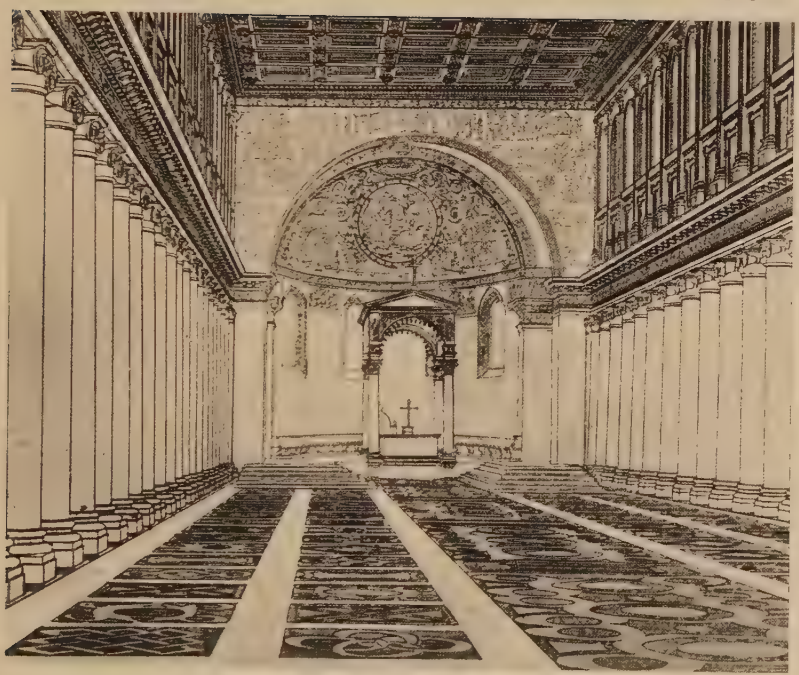
[2] Constantini Porphyrogenneti *Libri duo de Cerimoniis Aulae Byzantinae*, Lipsiae, 1751–54; t. i, pp. 143, 149.

[3] *Gesta Regis Henrici secundi*, Benedicti Abbatis, Rolls Series, 1867; vol. ii, pp. 80–1, 83.

[4] J. G. Graevius, *Thesaurus Antiquitatum et Historiarum Italiae*, Lugd. Batavorum, 1722; t. v, pars iii, p. 363, and plate opposite p. 362. Said to have been granted by Pope Alexander III.

[5] D. Magni Ausonii Burdigalensis *Opera*, Parisiis, 1730; p. 524.

PLATE III] [*To face page* 10



Ordo Romanus I.]

worship is in the account of a pilgrimage to the Holy Places attributed to St. Silvia of Aquitaine c. 385-88, where we find it used in connection with the bishop and the gospel-book, when he goes to read the gospel lesson at the vigil service on Saturday night.[1] A little later we have what seems to be an allusion to the use of both lights and incense carried before a bishop, in the description of the marriage of Julian and Ia by St. Paulinus of Nola[2] about 400. 'Unlooked for' the light may have been, because these ensigns usually belonged to public masses, and not to a private one such as a wedding-mass.

'What is this odour, that, borne through the air, to my nostrils is wafted?
Whence that unlooked-for light, showing itself to my eyes?
Who is he, who afar with gentle steps is approaching,
Whom Christ's plentiful grace now is accompanying?
Whom a blessed band surrounds with heavenly disciples,
Bringing a picture to mind of the angelical host?
I know the man who's accompanied by those celestial odours,
And whose face reflects starry and glistening light.
This is the man who is rich in the Lord Christ's bountiful presents,
He is Aemilius called, shining with heavenly light.
Memor, arise, show respect to thy father, thy brother embracing;
In one Aemilius both titles united appear.'

The circumstantial detail of the whole poem drives one to the conclusion that lights and odours were actually there.

This procession with incense and the gospel-book as ensigns of the bishop was certainly in vogue in the middle of the sixth century, for we have mosaics at Ravenna[3] of that date which show the bishop attended by a deacon carrying the gospel-book, and a subdeacon the censer.

The number of the seven candles borne before the pope

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[1] *S. Silviae Aquitanae Peregrinatio ad loca sancta*, edit. J. F. Gamurrini, Romae, 1888; p. 49. The service was at Jerusalem.

[2] Poema xxii, ll. 203 *sq.*

[3] See plates ii and xiii.

was probably derived from the Book of the Revelation.[1] One cannot help noticing a similarity between the heavenly worship therein described and parts of the ceremonial of solemn mass at Rome. We are told of a 'throne set in heaven, and one sat on the throne : . . . and round about the throne were four and twenty seats ; and upon the seats I saw four and twenty presbyters sitting clothed in white raiment . . . and there were seven lamps of fire burning before the throne. . . . And I saw in the right hand of him that sat on the throne a book' : and 'under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the Word of God.' Angels and the elect 'clothed in white robes' stand about the throne, singing to God and the Lamb.[2] Unlike the Churches of the East, the Church of Rome and the Western Church as a whole accepted the Apocalypse as canonical from the first.

It is not improbable that the use of lights and incense as episcopal ensigns was borrowed from or granted by the emperors, as a result of the powers as arbitrators which were conferred upon the bishops.[3] The earliest *law* which refers to this power is Cod. Justin., Lib. I : tit. iv : cap. 8, 408 A.D. ; but Jewish patriarchs had it in 398, by Cod. Theodos., Lib. II : tit. i : cap. 10, so that in all probability Christian bishops also possessed it at an earlier period. Sozomen says that Constantine allowed litigants to request the bishop's decisions, instead of the civil magistrate's : that their judgments were confirmed and enforced by the civil officials, and that they were even held of higher value than the decisions of other judges. It may well be that in course of time the bishops used the ensigns of the civil magistrates, perhaps at first merely when hearing civil or ecclesiastical suits, and then, later,

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[1] One may notice that in the Apocalyptic vision represented in the mosaics of the apse of SS. Cosmas and Damien at Rome (526–530) and of St. Praxedes (eighth cent.) the seven candlesticks are represented as separate *lampades* or torches, and not as a single seven-branched candlestick.

[2] Rev. iv, 2, 4, 5 : v, 1 : vi, 9. Fleury, *Les Moeurs des Chrestiens*, 130

[3] Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Lib. I : cap. 9.

at all their public entrances, including those for solemn mass; and finally, only at the public mass. The inventor of the Donation of Constantine attributes the grant of the right of proceeding thus[1] with incense and lights and the gospel-book to that emperor: he at any rate expresses the belief of the eighth century, and, possibly, may be recording an actual fact.

But the time which seems most likely for the introduction of this ceremony is rather later. Half-a-century after the Peace of the Church found a vast change in the manners of Christians from the simplicity of the days of persecution, particularly in the ranks of the city bishops.[2]

> 'I will not deny,' writes Ammianus Marcellinus, 'when I consider the ostentation that reigns at Rome, that those who desire such rank and power may be justified in labouring with all possible exertion and vehemence to obtain their wishes: since, after they have succeeded they will be secure for the future, being enriched by the offerings of matrons, riding in carriages, dressing with splendour, and feasting so luxuriously that their entertainments surpass even royal banquets.'

He draws a strong contrast between the bishop of Rome and the provincial bishops who ate and drank but little, wore cheap clothes, and were pure-minded and modest men. It must be remembered that Ammianus was a heathen writer; and his censure of the luxury of the city bishops occurs in the description of the disgraceful scenes attending the election of Damasus.

But a little later St. Gregory of Nazianzum[3] makes the same complaint in the East, denouncing the luxurious style of living, the soft wide-flowing raiment, the pomp and magnificence, the gorgeous equipages and showy steeds of the bishops of his day.

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[1] Gratiani *Decreti*, pars 1: distinct. 96: cap. xiv, *Constantinus imperator*, § 2: 'Conferentes etiam et imperialia sceptra, simulque cuncta signa atque banda et diversa ornamenta imperialia, et *omnem processionem imperialis culminis*, et gloriam potestatis nostrae.'

[2] Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum gestarum Libri*, lib. xxvii: cap. iii.

[3] S. Gregorii Nazianzeni Theologi, *Opera*, Parisiis, 1630; vol. i, pp. 360, 526 (Orationes 20, 32).

It is to a time when such luxury as this obtained that one would attribute the introduction or the use of lights and incense as ensigns of episcopal rank. But whether the practice began at Rome is uncertain. We first hear of incense used during divine service at Jerusalem ; and St. Jerome,[1] in replying to Vigilantius, says distinctly : 'Candles, however, we do not light in broad daylight as you falsely assert, but in order to temper the darkness of the night.' Yet it is possible that in this passage he may be confining himself to the particular accusation that they lit candles in honour of the relics of the Martyrs : since he goes on to say that throughout the whole Church of the East, when the gospel is read they burn lights in full sunlight, not so as to put darkness to flight, but as a token of rejoicing. We hear of this custom from no other writer of the period, so that we cannot tell how and with what ceremonial these lights were employed ; but it seems to be a legitimate deduction that, at the time that St. Jerome left Rome, they did not there use lights at the reading of the liturgical gospel. Changes took place very rapidly in those days, however, and much may have altered between 385, the year when St. Jerome left Rome, and the date of his reply to Vigilantius, written at Bethlehem in 406. Probably the ensign of lights was not carried at Rome before the gospel-book until some time after that of incense ; at any rate, St. Silvia only mentions incense and not the lights as used at Jerusalem, and in the mass of Easter Even, which preserves a number of ancient features lost or overlaid in the Sunday masses, incense is carried, but lights were, and still are, omitted.

The interior of the basilica was not left bare and unadorned. The walls[2] were covered with frescoes or mosaics, or were hung with rich curtains. Specimens of early Christian frescoes have been found more or less preserved in the Roman Catacombs: and the churches were adorned in a similar manner after the Peace of the Church.

[1] *Adversus Vigilantium*, § 7 (*Multa in orbe*): *P. L.*, xxiii, 345.
[2] Fleury, *Les Moeurs des Chrestiens*, 118.

Prudentius, writing in the fourth century, in relating the Passion of St. Cassian at Rome, describes the painted picture of the martyr, 'bearing a thousand wounds,' which the warden of the church told him represented no old-wives' fable, but a true account, showing the real faith of the olden days.[1] And again, describing the church of St. Hippolytus at Rome, he mentions that the story of that saint's martyrdom was painted on the walls.[2]

§ ii. *Lights.*

The basilicas and churches were illuminated when need was with lamps and candles, of which we have very frequent mention in the *Liber Pontificalis* and elsewhere. The numerous gifts, for example, recorded in the Life of St. Silvester, which although probably of later date than the time of Constantine yet belong to an early period,[3] include large lamps in which scented oils burned, heavy silver candelabra for the nave of the Lateran Basilica, and seven bronze candlesticks before the altar in the same; and in the time of Innocent I there was said to be twenty brazen candelabra in the nave of the church of SS. Gervase and Protase, each weighing forty pounds. Later on, Pope Leo III ordained that on Sundays and festivals lights

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[1] Aurelius Prudentius, *Peristephanon ix, Passio Cassiani Martyris in foro Cornoliano*, ll. 9 *sq.*

'Erexi ad caelum faciem, stetit obvia contra
Fucis colorum picta imago martyris
Plagas mille gerens, totos lacerata per artus,
Ruptam minutis praeferens punctis cutem,' etc.

[2] *Ibia., Peristephanon xi, Passio Hippolyti Martyris aa Valerianum Episcopum*, ll. 113 *sq.*

'Exemplar sceleris paries habet illitus, in quo
Multicolor fucus digerit omne nefas,
Picta super tumulum species liquidis viget umbris
Effigians tracti membra cruenta viri,' etc.

[3] It seems not unlikely that these gifts, or at any rate a great number of them, belong to the times of Sixtus (432–440) and of Hilarus (461–467). There is certainly a great similarity between a number of the items in each Life.

should be set on either side of the lectern during the reading of the lessons.

Prudentius[1] makes the Prefect of the City inquire of St. Laurence for the silver *scyphi* in which the sacred blood was held, and for the golden candlesticks in which the tapers were set at their nocturnal meetings. Paulinus of Nola (θ 431) describes the lights in his basilica of St. Felix at the festival[2] in the following lines :

'Now the golden doors are adorned with curtains all snow-white,
Thickly crowned with lamps the altars are brilliantly shining :
Lights are burning, and give forth the scent of the waxen papyrus,
Night and day they shine : thus night with the splendour of daylight
Blazes, and day itself, made bright with heavenly beauty,
Shines yet brighter, its light by lamps innumerable doubled.'

So, in another poem[3] on the same subject, he mentions tapers fixed to the pillars of the church, giving forth scented odours, and lamps hanging by brazen chains in the spaces between them. These he compares to a tree full of branches, bearing little glass vessels at the end like fruit in which the lights burn : the whole candelabrum, when lit, rivalling the crowd of stars with its numerous flames.

We have got beyond mere lighting for necessity here, for the lamps were lit by day as well as by night at the festival of St. Felix : the lights are become signs of rejoicing, a common practice amongst most nations of antiquity. The well-known lines of Juvenal[4] will suffice to recall the custom of pagan Rome :

'All things are gay : my doorway now is decked with tall branches,
And is keeping the feast with lanterns lit in the morning.'

St. Paulinus also mentions lamps (*lychni*) hanging by

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[1] *Peristephanon ii, Hymnus in honorem divi Laurentii*, strophe 18.
[2] Poema xiv, *De S. Felicis Natalitia Carmen III*, ll. 98 *sq.*
[3] Poema xxvi, *S. Felicis Natalis Carmen XI*, ll. 408 *sq.*
[4] *Satires*, Lib. iv : Sat. xii, ll. 91–2.

brazen chains in the basilica of St. Felix.[1] And in the Life of Pope Hilarus we read of four golden lamps burning before the Confession in the Oratory of the Holy Cross, and ten silver candelabra hanging before the altar of the Lateran Basilica. Belisarius is recorded, in the Life of Pope Vigilius, to have offered of the spoils of the Vandals two large silver-gilt candlesticks, which stood (at the time when the biographer wrote) before the body of blessed Peter in the Vatican Basilica. There was also a branched candelabrum hanging by golden chains in the covered space (*pergula*) before the same Confession, given in the time of Leo III; this pope also ordained that two lamps should burn every night before the altar in the same Basilica. Pope Paschal caused them to burn by day as well as by night.

§ iii. *Incense.*

From lights to incense is but a step. The list of gifts recorded in the *Liber Pontificalis* under St. Silvester mentions *Donum aromaticum ante altaria*, after the censers. As the latter weighed thirty pounds, the passage may mean that the aromatics were burned in censers hung before the altar of the Lateran Basilica. Boniface I (418–422) is said to have ordained that no woman or man, save only a *minister*, should burn incense (*incensum poneret*). We do not meet with censers in the *Liber Pontificalis* before the time of Sixtus III (432–440), except in the Life of Silvester; and these latter, as was mentioned before, seem to belong rather to the time of Hilarus.

In the church of SS. Marcellinus and Peter aromatics were burned before the relics of the patron saints who were buried therein, according to the compiler of the Life of St. Silvester. Later on, Pope Sergius (687–701) hung a golden censer, with columns and a cover, before the images of St. Peter in the Vatican Basilica, 'in which incense and the odour of sweetness were put while mass was being

[1] Poema xxiv: *De S. Felice Natal. Carmen IX*, ll. 395–6.

celebrated, on festivals.' We find a similar practice at Cremona[1] in 666, and in England[2] under Theodore (668–690). Leo III (795–816) set up a golden censer before the vestibule of the altar in the same basilica, which weighed seventeen pounds. In the Life of Leo IV (847–855) we are told of a censer with a hanging cup (*canthara*) at the basilica of the Four Crowned Martyrs.

We have already dealt with the ceremonial use of incense in the pope's procession to the altar, and the deacon's procession to the ambo to read the gospel. *Ordo I* also mentions that the sexton and the assistant presbyter of the stational church welcomed the pope with incense on his arrival there.

Incense was only used in the Roman rite at these two liturgical moments, save the occasional use in some basilicas of a hanging censer, burning all through the service, before some altar or image. When Amalar of Metz went to Rome for the furtherance of his liturgical studies, he found that the *Ordo Romanus*, by which he had set such store, had misled him in several particulars, which he recorded in the second preface to his book on the Ecclesiastical Offices.[3] There he tells us that the Romans did not offer incense at the altar after the gospel; and there is no reference to any such practice in *Ordo I*, although the Gallicanized *Ordo II* directs it to be done.

§ iv. *The Altar.*

The altar in the early church was probably always of wood, and continued to be so commonly after the Peace of the Church. St. Athanasius[4] tells how the Arian mob

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[1] Carlo Troya, *Storia d'Italia de Medio-evo*, Napoli, 1853; vol. ii, parte ii, p. 510. On the feast of St. Sisinnius, bishop and martyr, May 29.

[2] *Poenitentiale*, Lib. II: cap. i: n. 9: A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, Oxford, 1871; vol. iii, p. 191.

[3] Amalarius, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, *Praefatio altera* (prope finem): Migne, *P.L.*, cv, 992.

[4] Epistle to the Monks, cap. vii: § 56: n. 12; written c. 359.

broke into the cathedral church of Alexandria, and made havoc of everything inside, burning the bishop's throne, the seats, and the wooden altar. St. Austin[1] (c. 417) tells his correspondent Boniface how the Donatists at Bagaja assaulted the bishop with clubs, and finally smashed up the wooden altar and beat him with the pieces. Socrates[2] incidentally mentions two instances of wooden altars shaped table-wise. Eutropius, an eunuch and chief chamberlain, fled from the Emperor Constantine and took shelter under the altar, where he was seen by the bishop. In an earlier chapter he relates how Macarius rushed furiously into the sanctuary and knocked over the altar. There are two altars of wood preserved in the Lateran Basilica, and one at St. Pudentiana in Rome.

Stone came gradually into use as a material for the altar after the Peace of the Church. St. Athanasius seems to have known of various materials for this purpose, judging by his explanatory parenthesis, 'for it was of wood.' And in a great many other instances stone was used, with increasing frequency as years went by. Pope Gregory II covered the sides of the altar of the Oratory of St. Peter in the Lateran Palace, with silver all round;[3] and Hadrian I put plates of purest gold, of the weight of 590 lbs., having divers stories chased thereon, on the high altar of St. Peter's.

We are not told anything of the altar frontal in *Ordo I*, but in that of St. Amand the deacon, who has read the gospel, is directed on his return to the altar: *si fuerit pallium super altare, replicat eum in una parte ad orientem, et expanditur corporale super altare a diaconibus*: 'if there should be a *pallium* on the altar, to fold it on one side towards the east, and then the corporas is spread on the altar by the deacons.' Apparently it was not general for there to be

[1] Ep. clxxxv: cap. vii: § 27: *Opera*, Antwerpiae, 1700; t. ii, col. 498.

[2] Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.*, i, 27; vi, 5.

[3] "Circumquaque altaris parietes deargentavit." This and the next item show that the other instances in the *Liber Pontificalis* of silver or gold altars, or altars decorated with those metals, were not of solid gold and silver, but that metal plates were fastened upon a wooden or stone background.

a *pallium* on the altar, about the year 800, in the Roman churches.

This *pallium* was probably more like the 'decent carpet' of the 82nd canon of 1603, than the altar frontal of the Ornaments Rubric. There is a mosaic in the church of St. Apollinaris-in-Classe at Ravenna, said to be of the seventh century, which shows a four-legged square altar, having upon it an ornamented cloth falling down on and covering all four sides. Set thereon is a two-handled chalice between two patens, each of which appears to have a loaf thereon.

Little can be gathered from the *Liber Pontificalis* to throw any light on the question. In the eighth century there are many benefactions recorded in the Lives of the Popes of *vestes altaris* or *vestis super altare*. These are contrasted with *vela*, the veils of the ciborium in the Life of Gregory III, so that they were most probably altar *pallia*. In the Life of Vitalian (658–672) it is recorded that the Emperor Constantine offered upon the altar of St. Peter's a *pallium* woven with gold.

It appears from the *Ordo* of St. Amand that the *pallium* was partially removed before the corporas was spread on the altar, so that the linen cloth lay directly upon the stone slab without any other fabric intervening.

When first the altar was covered with a canopy or ciborium is not definitely known; nor when curtains were hung between the pillars of the ciborium.[1] St. John Chrysostom speaks of the curtains,[2] but at Rome we have to wait till a later date before we get any definite information about them. Thus Pope Sergius (687–701) set up eight *tetravela* round about the altar of the Lateran Basilica, four red and four white: and Leo III (795–816) set up

[1] There is a picture of an altar, surmounted by a ciborium, supported by four pillars, between each of which a curtain is drawn, which is taken from the mosaics of the church of St. George, Thessalonica, in C. Texier's and R. P. Pullan's *Byzantine Architecture*, London, 1864; plate xxxiii. These mosaics are said to date from before 500 A.D.

[2] Hom. III, *In Ephes.*, § 5. Preached at Antioch, before 398.

four white silk veils round about the altar of the basilica of St. Mary Major, hanging them in the arches of the ciborium. Hadrian I and Leo III were the largest benefactors of the Roman churches in the matter of gifts of curtains and veils and the like; the *Liber Pontificalis* contains long lists of their good deeds. It does not follow, however, that ciborium curtains were not in use at Rome before the time of Sergius: they certainly existed in other places at the beginning of the fifth century, and so may have at Rome; but their material may have been inexpensive, and so not worth recording.

The first notice of the erection of a canopy over the altar at Rome occurs in the Life of St. Symmachus (498–514), who is said to have made a ciborium and confession of silver, at the basilica of St. Andrew near St. Peter's, weighing 120 lbs., and at the church of SS. Silvester and Martin a ciborium of silver over the altar, weighing also 120 lbs. St. Gregory the Great (590–604) is recorded to have set up a ciborium with four columns, of pure silver, at St. Peter's. Honorius (626–638) built the church of St. Agnes in the Via Numentana, and set over her tomb, which presumably was under the altar, a brazen ciborium, gilded, of wonderful size; and in the church of St. Pancras in the Via Aurelia, which he also founded, he placed a silvern ciborium over the altar, which weighed 287 lbs. Bennet II (684) set up ciboriums of various materials at the churches of St. Valentine, St. Mary ad Martyres, and St. Laurence. Sergius (687–701) set up an ambo and a ciborium in the basilica of SS. Cosmas and Damian; and, at the basilica of St. Susanna, replaced the old one, which was of wood, with one of marble. Gregory III (731–742) renovated that at St. Chrysogonus and adorned it with silver. Hadrian (722–795) did the same by that of St. Andrew near St. Peter's, using 135 lbs. of silver. Leo III (795–816) set up or rebuilt several ciboriums. At St. Pancras he made one of silver weighing 367 lbs. At St. Paul's basilica he erected a ciborium with its columns over the altar, of wondrous size and beauty, decorated

with the purest silver to the weight of 2015 lbs. At St. Andrew's the ciborium over the high altar weighed 305 lbs, and at the Lateran Basilica it had four columns, depicted with divers stories, and screens and little pillars (apparently between the four great columns) of wondrous beauty and size, decorated with the purest silver, to the weight of 1227 lbs.

Here, again, we can see that ciboriums may be of much earlier date in Rome than the end of the fifth century: there is no record, for instance, of the erection of the old wooden one at St. Susanna's; and had not Pope Sergius replaced it with one of marble, we might never have known of its existence.

§ v. *The Confession.*

In the Apocalyptic vision of the heavenly worship, which, as we have already seen, bears striking resemblance to the Roman ceremonial at the offering of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, we read that under the altar[1] were 'the souls of them that were slain for the word of God.' In the basilican arrangements we have the same thing. Under the altar, in a recess, or a small chamber, lay the body of the saint in whose worship the basilica was dedicated. Sometimes there were steps leading down to the door of this chamber from the floor of the church. The details of the whole thing varied in different basilicas, but the principle remained the same — a tomb under the altar, accessible from the body of the church.

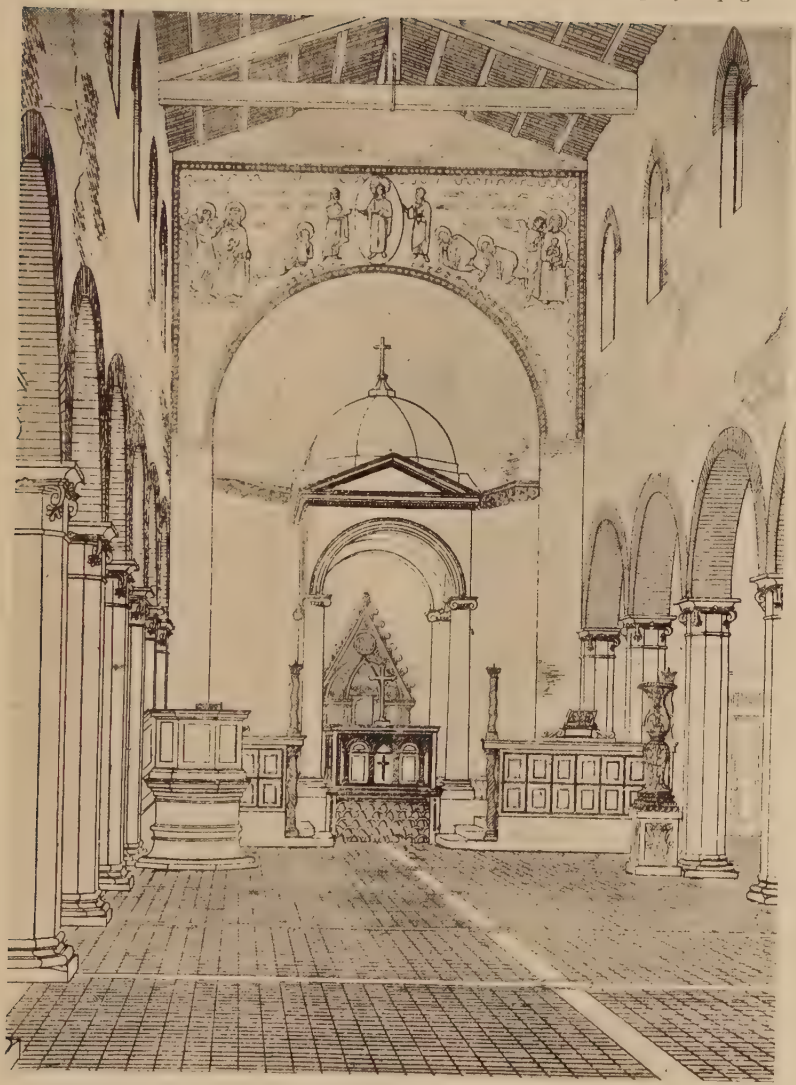
This tomb is what was known as the Confession.

§ vi. *The Ambo.*

In the basilicas adapted for Christian worship there was provided one or more pulpits or *ambones*, from which to read the Scripture lessons and preach the sermon.

[1] Rev. vi, 9.

[*To face page* 22



Ordo Romanus I.]

Anciently, it is believed that there was only one *ambo* in each church ; and this was the case at St. Peter's in the Vatican until its rebuilding. In other churches and in later times two were set up, one on either side, near the enclosed space for the choir. That on the (actual) north side was reserved for the gospel ; that on the south for the epistle, and responsory-psalm. But sometimes, as in St. Clement's, there were two on the right side, one higher, with the desk turned towards the altar, for the epistle ; the other, lower, facing towards the people, for the prophetical lesson when there was one, and the responsory-psalm. The gospel-ambo was more elaborate and more ornamented than the other, and usually had two flights of stairs, one up and the other down, as may be seen in the picture of the gospel-ambo at St. Clement's. Inside, these pulpits were capacious, easily holding three or four men.

§ vii. *The Sacristy. Secretarium.*

The sacristy was situate at the lower end of the nave of the basilica, on the south side ; that is, on the men's side of the church. Whence it happened that in those churches that did not orientate, but had the altar at the (actual) west end, the sacristy was on the left side of the entrance ; as was once to be seen in the old basilicas of the Vatican and the Lateran. In those that orientated, it was found on the right hand of the entrance, as was the ancient sacristy of St. Mary in Cosmedin.[1]

On arriving at a church to celebrate a stational mass, the pope did not go at once to the altar, but first entered the sacristy and changed his clothes for those he was to wear at the mass. Thither his sedan chair had been previously brought by the lay-chamberlain, in which he sat during the vesting ; but this direction supposes that the pope rode on horseback to the church. When he did not, it would appear that he was carried there in his chair.

[1] Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, ii, p. xxii.

§ viii. *The Gates.*

In the Greek Church the Iconstasis, or screen between the sanctuary and the quire, has three gates or doors. Similarly the basilican screen, which, however, was much lower than the Iconstasis, had three gates, called *rugae:* the centre pair, *in caput presbyterii*, sometimes called *rugae maiores:* and one on either side, *a parte virorum*, and *a parte mulierum.*[1] St. Paulinus of Nola[2] refers to these three gates in his description of his new basilica of St. Felix.

The gates set up in other parts of the church are also described in the *Liber Pontificalis* as *rugae.*

§ ix. *The Sacred Vessels.*

The vessels used for the Communion were the paten, to hold the bread, and chalices and other cups to hold the wine and water.

The *Liber Pontificalis* mentions patens of gold and of silver, and of weights varying from 5 to 30 lbs. They are generally supposed to have been round; Gregory IV (827–844), however, gave to St. Mary's *in Via Lata* one that was octagonal, weighing 6 lbs. Obviously those weighing 20 or 30 lbs. were far too heavy to carry about laden with loaves: they were employed to hold them on the altar until the fraction.[3]

We encounter several sorts of chalices or cups. First of all the chalices. In the *Liber Pontificalis* they are mentioned both of gold and of silver, and of all weights from 1 to 58 lbs. It would be even more impossible to carry about for communicating a full chalice of the latter weight than the heavy patens; they served to

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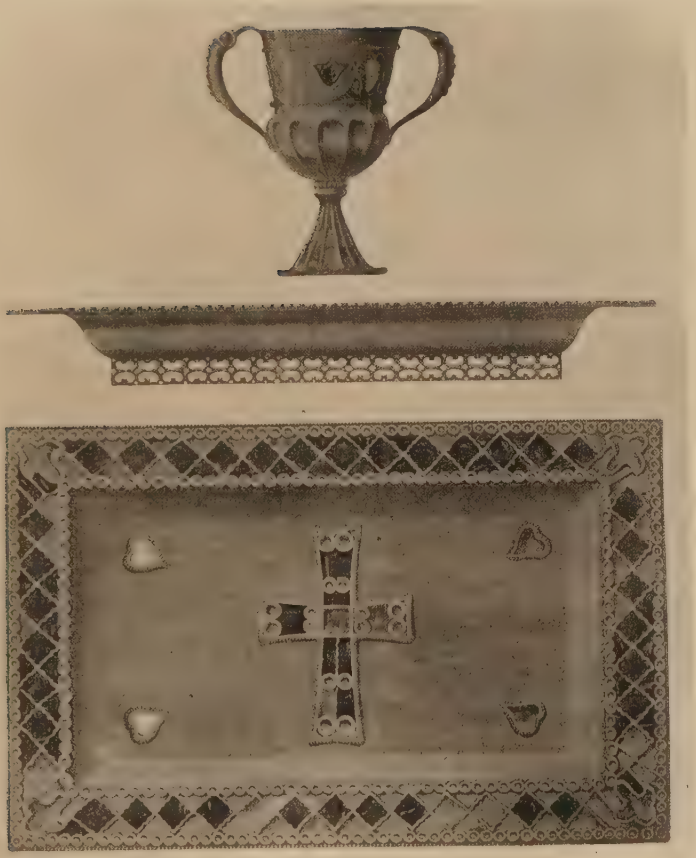
[1] L. Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, Paris, 1886; t. i, p. 522.

[2] Poema XXV, *De S. Felice Natal. Carmen X*, l. 19: Trinaque cancellis currentibus ostia pandunt.

[3] L. Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, t. i, p. cxliv.



Ordo Romanus I.]

contain the wine on the altar. The smaller chalices are described as *calices ministeriales;* evidently much the same as we now use, and for the same purpose. At public masses the pope consecrated a large two-handled chalice, a small quantity of the wine from which was poured into the bowls or *scyphi*, and probably the smaller chalices as well, which contained unconsecrated wine.

These *scyphi*, made of gold or of silver, and weighing anything from 4 to 50 lbs., are frequently mentioned in the *Liber Pontificalis.*

Clovis is said, in the Life of Hormisda (514–523), to have given six silvern *scyphi* for stations *cum ducibus*, where the latter word seems to mean the *pugillares* of our *Ordo*, or metal tubes used for communicating the people with the consecrated wine.

Amae were evidently large flagons. Duchesne points out that they had one at the Lateran which contained one medimnus or 52·5 litres, and that they are known even as large as three medimni, or 157·5 litres.[1] Those mentioned in the *Liber Pontificalis* generally weigh 10 or 15 lbs. Gregory IV (827–844) made six silver amae, which were sent to every stational mass. They are not the same as *amulae*, the small cruets in which the people offered their wine for the communion, and which were emptied into the larger chalice. Hadrian gave an *amula offertoria* weighing 67 lbs., and Gregory III a pair of *amulae*, presumably to hold the pope's offering of wine at solemn masses.

The communion-wine was passed through strainers, *colatoria* or *cola.* One[2] is mentioned in the inventory, dated 471, known as the *Charta Cornutiana*, and a few are enumerated in the *Liber Pontificalis.*[3]

We have mention also of certain vessels called *gemelliones*, but are told nothing of their use. Gregory IV (827–844) had made eight vessels of this name, each

[1] L. Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, Paris, 1886; t. i, p. cxliv.

[2] J. Mabillon, *De re Diplomatica*, Luteciae Parisiorum, 1681; p. 462.

[3] *e.g.* Leo III: Vasa colatoria argentea deaurata pens. libras iv et uncias iii.

weighing 2 lbs. Agnellus[1] in his *Liber Pontificalis* of the bishops of Ravenna mentions a vessel which he calls a *gemella*, that held 200 gold pieces: this seems to be a similar sort of vessel.

Under Hilarus (461–467) a complete service of sacred vessels was provided, which went round to the various churches in the city of Rome where the stational mass was appointed to be held:[2] this service was deposited at the Lateran or at St. Mary Major's. Leo III (795–816) provided 24 ministerial chalices (*communicales*) of purest silver, which were taken round to various stations by the collets.

Amalar of Metz states that at Rome the chalice was brought to the altar wrapped in a sudary, which was afterwards laid on the corner of the altar; and that the oblation-loaf was arranged by the side of the chalice, and not in front of it.[3] He seems to be speaking here of ordinary masses with few communicants and not of a stational mass with a large number: for then there were several patens standing on the altar crowded with oblation-loaves.

§ x. *Liturgical Costume.*

The liturgical vestments of the Christian ministry are merely the costume worn by civilians of the Roman empire in the fifth and sixth centuries. In the days of Pope Celestine (423–432) there was at Rome no liturgical costume distinct from that of a lay civilian; in Gaul there was, however, a tendency to differentiate between the lay and the clerical garb, which Celestine emphatically condemned.

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[1] In vita sancti Martini (L. A. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, Milan, 1723; t. ii, p. 182)

[2] In urbe Roma constituit ministeria qui circuirent constitutas stationes; and see also t. i, p. cliii, in Duchesne's edition of *Liber Pontificalis*.

[3] Amalarius, *De ecclesiasticis Officiis Liber*, praefatio altera (towards the end); Migne, *P.L.*, cv, 992.

Ordo Romanus I.]

'We have been informed,' he says, 'that certain bishops (*sacerdotes*) of the Lord are devoting themselves rather to superstitious observances in dress, than to purity of thought and of faith. But it is not to be wondered at that the custom of the Church should be broken by those who have not grown up in the Church, but, coming in by another road, have introduced with themselves into the Church, these things which they had in another mode of life. Wrapped in a *pallium* and with loins girded, they think that they fulfil the trustworthiness of Scripture, not in the spirit but in the letter. But if those things were ordered so that they might be kept in such-wise, why do they not equally carry out those that follow, that they should hold lighted lamps in their hands together with a staff? Those words have a mystery of their own, and to intelligent persons are so clear, that they may be kept according to a more fitting interpretation. For in girding the loins is indicated chastity, in the staff pastoral rule, in the lighted lamps the brightness of good works, of which it is said, *Let your works shine*. Yet perchance those who dwell in remote places and live far from the rest of mankind may wear this costume, following custom rather than reason. Whence came this custom in the Gallican Churches, so that the custom of so many years and of such bishops is changed for another costume? We must be distinguished from the common people and the rest by our learning, and not by our clothes; by our mode of life, and not by our costume; by purity of mind, and not by elegance of dress. For if we begin to busy ourselves with novelties, we shall tread under foot the traditions handed down to us from the fathers in order to make room for worthless superstitions.' [1]

In 397 a law was promulgated which was afterwards included in Codex Theodosianus (xiv: x: i), which orders senators to wear the peaceful dress of *colobium* and *paenula*. The class of *officiales* also was commanded to wear the *paenula* as part of full dress, and their inner garment was to be girded.

The *paenula* was a large cloak, reaching to below the knees, behind and before, with a hole for the head

[1] Epistle IV, to the bishops of the provinces of Vienne and Narbonne (Labbé and Cossart and Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova Collectio*, Florence, 1762; t. iv, col. 431).

to pass through ; just like, in fact, the full Gothic chasuble of later days. The *colobium* was a long tunic reaching nearly to the feet with, if any, only very short sleeves : the *tunica dalmatica*, on the other hand, had wide sleeves.

The *paenula* worn over a dalmatic may be seen in the picture opposite, showing St. Gregory the Great and his father and mother. It may be observed that St. Gregory the bishop and his father Gordianus the senator are dressed exactly alike, and that the bishop is only distinguished from the senator by the *pallium* or scarf thrown around his shoulders and the book of the gospels which he carries in his hand.

Towards the end of the fourth century Roman deacons began to wear *tunicae dalmaticae* instead of *colobia* in church ; and by the end of the following century it had become a recognized badge of the pope and his clergy.[1] When Pope Symmachus (498–514) sent a *pallium* to St. Caesarius of Arles, he at the same time[2] granted to the deacons of Arles the privilege of wearing dalmatics *ad Romanae instar ecclesiae*. St. Gregory the Great[3] granted a similar privilege to Aregius, bishop of Gap, and to his archdeacon, and sent the dalmatics by Abbot Cyriacus for them to wear. In the middle of the sixth century we find the bishop of Ravenna and his clergy all wearing the same in the mosaic at St. Vitalis.[4]

While the *paenula*, *planeta*, and *casula* are apparently the same garment, there may originally have been differences in the quality of their material. The *colobium* and dalmatic, as we have seen, differed in the shape of their sleeves, and the dalmatic had a stripe passing over each shoulder and down the back and front, and some-

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[1] St. Gregory mentions a dalmatic as early as the time of Symmachus, in *Dialogorum Liber IV*: cap. xl; *Opera*, ii, 444.

[2] *Vita S. Caesarii Arelatensis*, Lib. I: c. iv, in *Acta Sanctorum Bollana.;* August. 27: t. v, 71.

[3] Ep. cvii: Lib. IX: Indict. 11; *Opera*, ii, 1012.

[4] See Plate ii.

IMAGINES AD VIVVM EXPRESSAE
EX AEDICVLA SANCTI ANDREAE
PROPE BEATI GREGORII MAGNI ECCLESIAM,
NECNON EX VITA EIVSDEM BEATI GREGORII
A IOANNE DIACONO LIB. IV. CAP. LXXXIII. ET LXXXIV.
CONSCRIPTA.

Ordo Romanus I]

times one around the ends of the sleeves; these may be seen in the pictures.

According to the Roman *Ordines*, all ranks of the clergy, from the pope down to the collets, wore a tunic with a planet over it. We must note this difference, however, in time of liturgical celebration. The pope not only entered wearing his planet, but kept it on during the whole time that he was engaged in offering the Eucharistic Sacrifice, whatever he might be doing. Not so the deacons; who, on arriving in the presbytery before the altar, divested themselves of their planets and gave them to one of the district-collets to take care of for the rest of the service. So it is ordered in *Ordo Romanus I*, § 8, and in the *Ordo* of St. Amand, at solemn mass. A change, however, had taken place when Amalar of Metz visited Rome in 831: for he specially notes that during the verse of the *Alleluia* the deacon who was about to read the gospel put off his planet, and rolling it on his left shoulder, passed its two ends, together with his stole, across and under his right arm, fastening them there; and so wore them until the pope departed from the altar after mass.[1] Obviously this was done to free the arms as soon as the time came for the performance of the deacon's special duties.

According to the St. Amand *Ordo*, when the subdeacon who is precentor sees that the deacons are removing their planets, he too divests himself of his, and a quire-collet takes charge of it. Later, this *Ordo* appears to direct that the singer of the responsorial psalm should remove his planet and give it to a collet before he mounts the ambo; but the passage is corrupt, and some words are missing.

Both deacons and sub-deacons, in the St. Amand *Ordo*, wear albs and planets when the pope does not wear his dalmatic: when he is vested in it, the deacons also wear dalmatics, and the sub-deacons wrap amices around their

[1] Amalar, *De ecclesiasticis Officiis*, *Praefatio altera*, prope finem: Migne, *P.L.*, CV, 992.

necks and put on such white tunics as they may have. St. Gregory the Great ordered the subdeacons to proceed *exspoliatos*, without their planets: in doing which he claims to have revived an ancient practice of the Church of Rome which had been altered by some bishop unknown.[1] But his restoration was not permanent: in *Ordo I* and the St. Amand *Ordo* the subdeacons wear their planets.

In *Ordo III* the pontiff's vestments are enumerated as in *Ordo I*, but with explanations:[2] they are 'the *linea*, the *ambolagium*, *i.e.* the amice, which is called the *humerale*, the linen dalmatic, which we call the alb, the girdle, the dalmatic, the *orarium*, and the planet.' The linen dalmatic is evidently the precursor of the alb: but in *Ordo I* the girdle was put on before the linen dalmatic. The Ravennese mosaic shows the linen dalmatic ungirded.

The *Liber Pontificalis* at the beginning of the sixth century mentions an ensign of position called the *pallium linostimum*, as worn on the left arm by the Roman deacons, and even those of the suburbicarian churches. Duchesne has shown clearly that this ornament[3] is the *mappula* or handkerchief, carried folded on the left arm with the ends pendant, just like the maniple of to-day. It was used in the act of presenting anything, to shield the same from contact with the hand.

There was another *mappula* which was used only by the clergy of the Church of Rome, by those to whom some pope had granted the privilege. *Ordo IX* speaks of it[4] under the name of *linteum vellosum*, which it was customary to place on the horse's saddle. It was, in fact, merely an ornamental saddle-cloth; but the privilege of using it was much sought after.[5]

The *pallium* was a long scarf draped about the bishop's

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[1] See the letter to John, bishop of Syracuse, given on p. 68.

[2] n. 6: Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, ii, 54.

[3] *Origines*, 369.

[4] *Museum Italicum*, ii, 89.

[5] See St. Gregory's Letters, Lib. III: Epp. lvi, lvii: *Opera*, t. ii, 668, 669. And see the Life of Conon (686) in *Liber Pontificalis*.

[*To face page* 31

shoulders, with the two ends hanging down behind and before. The popes had adopted this ensign from the end of the fifth century. The bishop of Ostia also wore one, and the bishops of Ravenna used them in the middle of the sixth century.[1] Symmachus sent one to St. Caesarius of Arles, and his successors continued to receive the pallium. St. Gregory sent the pallium to several bishops.[2]

At first the pallium was granted by the emperor, and the inventor of the Donation of Constantine looks upon it in that light at the end of the eighth century, when he makes Constantine give St. Sylvester 'the superhumeral, viz. the *lorum* which he is accustomed to throw around the imperial neck.' In the sixth century the popes, when they bestowed the pallium on bishops who were not subjects of the Byzantine emperor, asked the permission of the emperor to do so. Maur, archbishop of Ravenna, in the seventh century asked for and obtained the pallium from the Emperor Constantine II. Reparatus acted similarly.

Duchesne has shown clearly that the episcopal pallium is an ensign of honour identical with the pallium of the consul as seen represented in the consular diptychs, where that official appears in the most important act of his inauguration, at the moment when he is giving the signal for the horses to start in the arena, by throwing down his handkerchief or *mappula*. It is an official ensign, granted originally by the emperors; and Duchesne[3] shows that its origin must be sought rather in the fourth century than in the fifth. In the early period of its use it was *the* ensign of episcopal power. He further points out that when Felix IV (526–530) wished to invest his successor before his death, he sent him his pallium; and that when a pontiff was deposed his pallium was taken from him.

The stole was another distinguishing mark of dignity,

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[1] Agnellus, *Liber Pontificalis Ravennae* (*Vita S. Mauri*) in L. A. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, Milan, 1723; t. ii, pars i, pp. 143, 148.

[2] *Origines du Culte Chrétien*, Paris, 1898; pp. 372 *sq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 374.

worn by presbyters and deacons. But though in use in both east and west at the time of *Ordo I*, it was not used at Rome until much later. The deacon wore his stole over the left shoulder, hanging down behind and before: the presbyter around the neck, with both ends hanging in front. Duchesne traces the stole, the orarium, the epitrachelium, the omophorium and the pallium, alike to a common origin. He regards them as first introduced into ecclesiastical use during the fourth century, and to be scarves of office analogous to the similar civil insignia mentioned in the Theodosian Code.[1]

§ xi. *Stations.*

A stational mass or station was one whereat the whole local Church was present (or represented), from the bishop to the layfolk; and was performed with the greatest solemnity.

Before the time of St. Gregory the Great, there was no settled *cursus* of stations; but he arranged a definite order, dividing them amongst the basilicas, titular churches;[2] and even some of the chapels attached to hostelries and cemeteries seem to have had stations held in them, for St. Gregory has left us a sermon which he preached at the oratory of St. Pancras at such a mass.[3] Gregory II filled up the Thursdays in Lent, which were hitherto left vacant.[4]

The absence of a settled course of stations gives a reason for the custom of announcing the next place of meeting at each public mass. Originally announced by one of the notaries, at the time of *Ordo I* it had become general for the archdeacon to make the proclamation.

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[1] Duchesne, *Origines*, 376 *sq.*

[2] *Life*, by John the Deacon, Lib. II: cap. 18; S. Gregorii, *Opera*, Parisiis, 1705; t. iv, col. 50.

[3] Lib. II: Homilia xxvii; *ibid.* t. i, col. 1560 *sq.*

[4] *Vita Gregorii II* in *Liber Pontificalis.*

Still, we find an instance of the notary[1] fulfilling this duty as late as the time of Leo III, when it is said to be 'according to ancient tradition.'

The origin of announcing the station during the Communion is probably to be found in the days of persecution, when absolute secrecy as to the next meeting was very needful; for at that time there was the least likelihood of strangers being present to hear.

There was a special service of altar-plate, kept only for the stational masses, as early as the days of Hilarus (461–467). This was brought at an early hour from the Lateran or St. Mary Major, and was preceded, according to Mabillon, by the stational cross.[2]

Charles the Great presented a large processional cross of gold to Leo III, which was stolen in the time of Pope Paschal. Leo IV (847–855) gave another in its stead, which was carried 'as was anciently the custom,' by a subdeacon, before the pope, in Litany-processions.[3]

§ xii. *Hebdomadary Bishops.*

Pope Stephen III (768–772) ordained that the seven hebdomadary cardinal bishops, who kept solemn mass in the church of the Saviour (*i. e.* the Lateran Basilica), should celebrate at the altar of blessed Peter, and say *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, according to the *Liber Pontificalis*. Each bishop took a week at a time. The seven bishops were those of Ostia, St. Rufina, Porto, Albano, Tusculum, Sabina, and Preneste. The *episcopus prior* in later days was he of Ostia, whose privilege it was to bless and consecrate the pope,[4] and who wore the pallium.

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[1] *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, ii, 4. [2] *Museum Italicum*, ii, p. xxxiii.

[3] Quae mos erat ut in laetaniis ante sacratissimum Pontificem ipsa procederet (*Vita Leonis III*).

[4] See Life of St. Marcus (336) in *Liber Pontificalis*: 'Hic constituit ut episcopus Ostiensis, qui consecrat episcopum Urbis, pallio uteretur, et ab eodem episcopo Urbis Romae consecraretur.'

§ xiii. *Hebdomadary Presbyters.*

An hebdomadary presbyter was one who performed his duties somewhere for a week at a time; as we should now say, he was 'in residence,' but for one week at a time, just as the canons of our cathedrals are 'in residence' for three months at a time every year. Mgr. Duchesne states that there is good ground for distinguishing him absolutely from the hebdomadary bishops of the Lateran Basilica.[1] He is mentioned in *Ordo I*: n. 15, as handing (with the deacons) the offering-loaves to the pope.

§ xiv. *Deacons, and their Diaconiae (Hostelries).*

'There are but seven deacons at Rome, answering precisely to the number ordained by the Apostles,' wrote Sozomen[2] in the middle of the fifth century, 'whereas in other Churches the number of deacons is unlimited.' He evidently had in mind the seven district-deacons of Rome, when he thus wrote. At an early period the city was divided for ecclesiastical purposes into seven districts or wards, to each of which was allotted a deacon, under whom was placed a subdeacon and a certain number of collets. To them pertained the care of the sick and the poor, and the administration of charity generally.

The building whereat this dispensation of alms and food usually took place was called a *Diaconia* or Hostelry. To each of these was annexed a chapel or oratory, which in later times gave a title to one of the cardinal-deacons. In the seventh century these hostelries were organized by monks,[3] whose superior was entitled *Pater diaconiae*, or

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[1] In a private letter to the writer.

[2] Sozomen, *Hist. Eccles.*, Lib. VII: cap. xix.

[3] L. Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, Paris, 1886; t. i, p. 364, n. 7.

Dispensator.[1] Popes Bennet II (684–685) and John V (685–686) are recorded to have left sums of gold to the whole clergy, the monks of the hostelry, and the sextons. Mabillon mentions an inscription with the name of Theodatus, chief notary (or chancellor) of the holy apostolic See, and *Pater diaconiae Sancti Angeli in Piscina*, in the time of Gregory II (714–731).[2]

It is not quite clear when these charitable institutions were first founded in Rome, but we do not hear of them under the title of *Diaconiae* before the seventh century. As *Xenodochia* or caravanserais, they were known to St. Gregory the Great.[3]

At Rome the monks of the hostelries were subordinate to their district-deacon.

In the eighth century some at least of these hostelries had baths attached to them for the use of travellers and others. Pope Hadrian (772–795) ordained that every Thursday there should be a procession from the hostelry to the bath, with singing of psalms by the way, and that there the poor should be relieved and given alms. It is recorded of both Hadrian and Gregory III (731–742) that they endowed hostelries, besides restoring many old ones that had fallen into disrepair, and building new ones.

Although for a long period there were but seven deacons of Rome, their number was increased to eighteen from the time of Honorius II, and later on to twenty. Of these, six were known as palatine-deacons, and were attached to the basilica of St. John [4] in the Lateran Palace:

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[1] So in *Liber Pontificalis*, Life of Hadrian. *Liber Diurnus*, cap. 7: tit. 17: 'Sed Dispensator qui pro tempore fuerit in eodem venerabili Diaconia,' etc. Epitaph of Theodinus, district-subdeacon, Rector of the Apostolic See, and *Dispensator* of the Hostelry of St. Andrew, Naples, in Ducange, *Glossarium*, Niort, 1884; t. iii, pp. 95–6.

[2] Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, t. ii, p. xvii.

[3] e. g. *Epistles*, Lib. XII: Epp. 10, 39; Lib. XIV: Ep. 2 (*Opera Omnia*, Parisiis, 1705; t. ii, 1187, 1207, 1259).

[4] Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, sub anno 1057, num. xxi. Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, ii, 567, and *Comment.*, p. xvii

the rest were attached to districts. The former alone had the privilege of reading the liturgical gospel at the Lateran Basilica; the others did the same at the stational masses held in other basilicas and churches.

The statement that there were only seven deacons in the Church of Rome is true so far as it refers to the district-deacons, presided over by the archdeacon of Rome: but there were other deacons attached to the titular (or as we should now say, parish) churches.[1]

The small number of Roman deacons, St. Jerome tells us, made them more honourable than the large body of presbyters; and, consequently, the deacons gave themselves airs, and looked down on mere presbyters with feelings of contempt. They even presumed to bless the food at banquets although a presbyter was present, so inflated with their own importance did they become; and it would seem that the presbyters resented their insolence so keenly, that at last they refused to stand when the deacons read the liturgical gospel, and in consequence Anastasius decreed that whensoever the holy gospels were recited, priests should not sit, but stand with bowed heads (*curvi*).[2]

The Roman deacons before the time of St. Gregory the Great were responsible for singing the anthems, etc.; but in consequence of its happening that a good voice was too often thought more of than good morals, he forbade them to do more than chant the liturgical gospel, leaving the rest of the singing to the subdeacons and other minor orders.[3]

§ xv. *Holy Orders.*

The bestowal of Holy Orders by the Roman Church was characterized by great simplicity.

Ordinations of presbyters and deacons always took

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[1] *Museum Italicum*, ii, xvii.

[2] See Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, sub anno 402, nn. xliv *sq.*

[3] Concilium Romanum 595, canon 1.

PLATE IX] [*To face page* 36

Ordo Romanus I]

place at a solemn stational mass,[1] on an Ember-Sabbath; and in the fifth and sixth centuries it was more frequently that in December.[2] On the Wednesday before at the basilica of St. Mary Major, and on the Friday at that of the Apostles, before the lessons, a *scriniarius* (a particular class of notary) demanded thrice from the ambo whether any one present had a charge to bring against any of the candidates.[3] The ordinations took place next day, at the Vatican Basilica. The mass proceeded (with the omission of the Kyries from their usual place) until the end of the grail or responsory psalm sung after the epistle. Then the subdeacons put off their planets, and the pope invited the clergy and people to pray for the candidates. The choir then chanted the litany; after which, the pope laid his hands on each candidate and pronounced the collect and eucharistic prayer of ordination. The new deacon then received the kiss from the pope and the bishops and presbyters, and passed to the right hand of the bishops with the other deacons. Then one of the newly ordained deacons read the gospel; and the mass proceeded as usual.

The ordination of a presbyter was similar: different prayers of ordination were used, and instead of having a planet removed, he put one on, after taking off his dalmatic.

The same took place at the consecration of a bishop: the prayers, of course, were different, and it always was performed on some Sunday.

§ xvi. *Subdeacons.*

Under each district-deacon there was a subdeacon; these district-subdeacons chaunted the lessons and liturgical epistles at the stational masses. Besides these there were

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[1] *Ordo IX*: § 1: 'Diaconi vero atque presbyteri numquam nisi in publica ordinatione' (*Museum Italicum*, ii, 89–90). *Ordo* of St. Amand in Duchesne, *Origines*, 458 *sq.*

[2] According to the records in *Liber Pontificalis*.

[3] *Ordo* of St. Amand in Duchesne, *Origines*, 459.

seven others who belonged to the *Schola Cantorum*, of whom more will be said later; and by the eleventh century there were also seven palatine-subdeacons, whose duties were confined to the Lateran Basilica.[1]

Two subdeacons had special titles: *subdiaconus oblationarius*, the subdeacon-oblationer, who from the time of Gregory III (731–742) brought the pope's offerings from the Lateran Palace to the church where the stational mass was held, and presented them in the pope's behalf to the archdeacon at the offertory. The other was *subdiaconus sequens* or *qui sequitur*, the subdeacon-attendant. In the *Ordo* of St. Amand he is called *subdiaconus teperita*†, whatever that may mean. His special duties were, amongst others, to bring in the book of the gospels and lay it on the altar, to carry the censer before the pope in the procession to and from the altar, and to receive the offering of water for making the chalice from the ruler of the choir. It is probable that he was merely chosen from among the other subdeacons just for the day: though according to n. 19 of *Ordo I* there would seem to have been several of them. And Boniface V (617–626) ordained that in the Lateran the collets should no longer assist the deacons in baptizing, but that their place should be taken by the subdeacon-attendants. *Sequens* is probably a translation of the Greek ἀκόλουθος: so that this class of subdeacon may be regarded as a superior type of collet, specially appointed on account of the peculiar dignity of the Roman bishop.

§ xvii. *Collets.*

The collet (acolyte, *acolitus*, ἀκόλουθος) was permitted to carry the vessels with the loaves and wine, and was charged with ministering to presbyters. At solemn masses the collets carried the consecrated loaves in their linen

[1] Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, sub anno 1057, num. xxi. *Museum Italicum*, ii, *Comment.*, xviii, and 567.

sacks to the presbyters for them to perform the fraction for communion. Seven of their number carried lighted candles before the pope, as he went from the sacristy to the altar to sing mass, and again when he returned.

In 251 Pope Cornelius [1] wrote a letter to Fabius bishop of Antioch, in which he gives the number of his clergy. There were then forty-six presbyters, seven deacons, seven subdeacons, forty-two collets, and fifty-two inferior clerks (exorcists, readers, doorwardens). Each of the seven ecclesiastical districts thus contained one deacon, one subdeacon, and six collets.

Some of the collets seem to have been stationed during a solemn mass at the gate of the quire. How long they stayed there we are not told, but as the pope departed from the altar to the sacristy after mass, he blessed the various groups of clergy in turn; and the last of these inside the presbytery were the collets *qui rugam observant.* Perhaps the passage only means that they awaited the pope at that spot.

§ xviii. *Minor Orders.*

The conferring of the three lowest degrees of minor order in the Roman Church took place in the *Schola Cantorum;* and the ceremonies, if any, were quite private.[2] The child after leaving the *Schola* was made collet at some mass, generally, if not always, at a private mass; and just before communion he was brought to the pope, or some one of the hebdomadary bishops, and given a linen sack. Bowing down to the ground before the bishop, he received his blessing, and so became a collet.[3]

The ordination of a subdeacon was exactly similar: he was given a chalice instead of a sack, but the blessing was the same.[4]

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[1] Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica,* Lib. VI: cap. xliii.

[2] Duchesne, *Origines,* 339.

[3] *Museum Italicum,* ii, 85, 89.

[4] *Museum Italicum,* ii, 85, 89 (*quando et ubi libitum fuerit*). Letter of John the Roman Deacon (early sixth century) to Senarius, in Migne, *P.L.*, lix, 405.

This blessing is probably not older than the seventh century, and contains no reference whatever to the order conferred; so that before that time these two orders were bestowed merely by the giving of the signs of office[1]—the sack, or the chalice.

§ xix. *College of Singers.*

The *Schola Cantorum*, or College of Singers, was founded, so John the Deacon tells us, by St. Gregory the Great, who provided it with endowments and two houses, one by the steps of St. Peter's, and the other by the Lateran Palace; where could be seen (in that author's time) the couch on which St. Gregory lay whilst teaching, and the whip wherewith he used to correct and enforce order amongst the boys, together with that pope's Antiphoner.[2]

In the *Schola* the boys were trained and brought up, passing through the first three minor orders during their life there.[3] Several of the popes came from amongst the children of the *Schola Cantorum*.[4] The boys or youths left the College with the grade of collet.[5] In the eighth and ninth centuries the *Schola* seems to have been recruited almost entirely from orphans, which fact gave it the title *Orphanotrophium*, applied to it in those days.[6] The building was almost in ruins in the time of Pope Sergius II (844–847), one of the popes there educated, and it was rebuilt by him.

Besides the *infantes* or children of the choir, belonging to the *Schola*, there were *paraphonistae*, or adult singers, one of whom sang the responsory psalm or grail, and

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[1] John the Deacon: *hic apud nos ordo est, ut, accepto sacratissimo calice in quo consuevit pontifex dominici sanguinis immolare mysterium, subdiaconus iam dicatur.*

[2] *Life*, Lib. I: cap. vi, in S. Gregorii *Opera*, iv, 47.

[3] Duchesne, *Origines*, 339.

[4] *e.g.* Sergius I (687) and Sergius II (844).

[5] Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, i, 322.

[6] *e.g.* in Life of Sergius II.

another the *Alleluia*, at mass; and seven subdeacons. Perhaps these and the *paraphonistae* were the same.

We hear of four officials in the choir: (1) *Prior Scholae*, sometimes called *Primus Scholae*, and later on *Primicerius Scholae Cantorum*. This was the head of the *Schola*, and corresponds to the *precentor* of later days. (2) *Secundus Scholae*, who appears to be the forerunner of the *succentor* of later times; (3) *Tertius Scholae*, apparently a sort of vice-succentor, but of whom nothing is really known save his title; and (4) *Archiparaphonista*, otherwise called *Quartus Scholae*, the arch-chorister, who seems to be the same as the *Rector Chori*, or ruler of the choir, of our English rites, the *Custos Chori* of Laon, and the *Archichoriſter* of Bayeux. Our *Ordo* states that it was his business to inform the pontiff on matters relating to the singers.

In 595 St. Gregory the Great decreed that in future the deacons of the Roman Church should not be allowed to sing anything except the liturgical gospels; the psalms and other scripture lessons were to be rendered by the subdeacons, or, if need be, by other minor orders. The reason for this reform was that the deacons had paid more attention to the cultivation of their vocal powers than their morals, to the neglect also of their more important duties; and it too often happened that whilst they delighted the people with their singing, they offended God with their ill-living.[1]

§ xx. *Cubicularii.*

In Mabillon's *Ordo IX*, printed from an ancient MS of St. Gallen,[2] and belonging perhaps to the time of Leo III (795–816),[3] we are told that if any boys who could sing well were found in any school, they were removed thence, and brought up in the *Schola Cantorum*, and

[1] Conc. Rom. 595, can. 1.

[2] *Museum Italicum*, ii, 89.

[3] *Ibid.*, 93, note *a*.

afterwards were made *cubicularii*. But if they were sons of the nobility, they were immediately brought up in the *Cubiculum*, and not first sent to the *Schola Cantorum*. After that they received the first benediction from the archdeacon, so that they might use the *linteum vellosum* which it was customary to place over the saddle of their horse.

The *Liber Pontificalis* tells us that Gregory II (714) was brought up from an early age in the Lateran Palace (*Patriarchio*): the same authority says of Stephen II (752), that, after his father's death, he was left as a small boy *in venerabili cubiculo Lateranensi*. His younger cousin and successor, Paul I (757), was also brought up with him in the Lateran Palace. Stephen V (816) was brought up in the same place.

It would thus appear that the *cubicularii* were the boys who were brought up in the Lateran Palace with a view to their taking holy orders.

The lay *cubicularii* of whom we read were evidently chamberlains, but I have not been able to find out anything more concerning them and their duties than what is mentioned in *Ordo I.*

In the time of St. Gregory the Great a Roman Synod appointed that certain persons, chosen from among the clerks or the monks, should attend to the service of the pontiff's *cubiculum*, and be witnesses of his life and conversation and learn from his example. The lay *cubicularii* above mentioned may be a development from these.

§ xxi. *The Papal-Vicar. Vicedominus.*

Every bishop was bound to have an *oeconomus*, or administrator, who looked after the social and domestic side of the bishop's duties, governed his house, received guests, and so on. St. Gregory [1] mentions two cases of the appointment of a deacon to this office, in one instance combining it with that of major-domo. In the life of

[1] Ep. xi: Lib. I: Indict. IX: *Opera*, ii, 498, and Ep. lxxi: Lib. XI; ii, 1172.

Pope Vigilius we read of one Ampliatus, presbyter, and his *vicedominus;* and in that of Constantinus of Saul, deacon and *vicedominus*. Agnellus[1] makes mention of one, Leo, *diaconus, et vicedominus* of Pope Stephen III. Probably, then, this official was always in deacon's orders at least, and sometimes a presbyter.

The Major-domos appear to have had much the same duties. *Maiores domus Ecclesiae Romanae* seem to have been concerned with the government of the Lateran Palace: skilled men of business, according to Ducange.[2] Probably they were immediately responsible to the *Vicedominus*. It does not appear that they were clergymen.

§ xxii. *College of Notaries.*

Notaries were men skilled in writing *notae*, or shorthand, at which they must have attained almost as great dexterity as their successors in modern times. Martial[3] wrote of one:—

'Swiftly the speaker's words pour forth, but your hand is yet swifter;
Scarcely the tongue has ceased, than has the hand set it down.'

Seneca,[4] too, bears witness to the speed with which notaries took down speeches. The Emperor Titus[5] is recorded to have been a most rapid shorthand writer, as well as being so skilful in imitating other person's handwriting that he might easily have become a forger.

Under the emperors notaries developed into secretaries, or Civil Service clerks. We read of three classes of such:[6] (1) Tribune notaries, (2) Praetorian notaries, and (3) Domestic notaries. At their head was an important

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[1] L. A. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, Milan, 1723; t. ii, pars i, p. 174.

[2] *Sub voce*, MAIORDOMUS.

[3] M. Val. Martialis, *Epigrammaton*, Lib. XIV: n. ccviii.

[4] L. A. Seneca, *Opera Omnia*, epist. xc, Antwerpiae, 1652; p. 578. *Cnf.* Aur. Prudentius, *Passio Cassiani Martyris*, ll. 21 *sq.*

[5] Suetonius, *Titus*, iii.

[6] J. G. Graevius, *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Romanarum*, Traiect. ad Rhen., et Lugd. Batavor., 1698; t. vii, 1576.

official called *Primicerius notariorum*, chief secretary or chancellor. He was of the rank of *Spectabilis*, like the Tribune notaries.

The Church, particularly at Rome, availed herself of both of these types of notary. The *Liber Pontificalis* credits St. Clement with having apportioned Christian notaries among the seven ecclesiastical districts of Rome, to record the deeds of those who were martyred. St. Anterus (227-233) is said by the same authority to have diligently sought out the accounts of the passions of martyrs from the notaries, and to have stored them up in the churches ; for which he was himself martyred by the prefect Maximus. To Fabian (238-254) is attributed the division of the seven districts of Rome among the seven deacons, and the appointment of seven subdeacons to the same, who superintended the gathering of the different *Acta Martyrum* into one work. This pope was, according to some authorities, the originator of the seven districts. St. Julius (336-352) appears to have consolidated the notaries into a Chancery of the Roman See, under a *Primicerius notariorum*, giving this office control over the ecclesiastical records, pleadings, donations, leases, wills, and such-like documents.

Evodius[1] mentions a young man who was skilful both in short and longhand writing, *strenuus in notis, et in scribendo bene laboriosus*, and was consequently a useful secretary. The larger churches, at any rate, seem to have had notaries attached to them who took down the sermons in shorthand ; they are mentioned by St. Austin,[2] who says that they recorded both his sermons and the applause of his hearers. St. Jerome[3] wrote to him in 416 from Palestine, complaining of the lack of notaries who understood Latin. These were merely shorthand-clerks, or secretaries.

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[1] Letter to St. Austin of Hippo (Ep. 158), in his *Opera*, Antwerpiae, 1700 ; t. ii, 425.

[2] Epist. 213 : § ii : September 26, 426 (*Opera Omnia*, t. ii, col. 600).

[3] Epist. 172 (*Ibid.*, t. ii, col. 465).

But the notaries of the Roman See were much more considerable personages. The letters of St. Gregory the Great represent them as despatched to all parts of the country on various important missions. Thus, Pantaleon the notary is ordered to inquire into the case of a deacon of Sipontum in Apulia, who was accused of the rape of a virgin, and if he finds him guilty, to sentence him to marry her, or else receive corporal punishment and be shut up in a monastery.[1] Castorius, Roman notary at Ravenna, is told to keep an eye on the archbishop to see that he does not wear his *pallium* in litanies, contrary to Gregory's injunctions :[2] or he has to put pressure on the Ravennese to elect a new archbishop.[3]

Notaries were not necessarily, nor even usually in orders ; but often they advanced to minor orders, and sometimes to holy orders. St. Gregory mentions the case of Speciosus, a subdeacon,[4] unable to keep his vow of continency, who acted as notary for the rest of his life.

Besides the duties assigned to them in *Ordo I* at solemn mass, which are of small import, they are directed on Easter Even to hold two lighted candles, one on either side of the altar, at the commencement of the service.[5] In the St. Amand *Ordo* they are subdeacons who hold these lights : but the *Ordo* of Einsiedeln has *duo regionarii*, *i.e.* district-notaries.[6] In the Roman *Ordo VII* the two notaries hold these lights, which are stated to be of the height of a man's stature.

At one time the next stational mass was announced by a notary, and not by the archdeacon: of which an instance occurs as late as in the Life of Leo III (795–816),[7] where it is stated to be 'according to ancient tradition.'

At Roman Synods and Councils the notaries played a

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[1] St. Gregory the Great, Lib. III: Ep. 41 ; *Opera*, ii, 654.

[2] *Ibid.*, Lib. VI: Ep. 34; t. ii, 819.

[3] *Ibid.*, Lib. V: Ep. 23; t. ii, 753.

[4] *Ibid.*, Lib. IV: Ep. 36; t. ii, 716.

[5] *Ordo VII*: § 10 (*Mus. Ital.* ii, 82).

[6] Duchesne, *Origines*, 452, 466.

[7] Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, Paris, 1886; ii, 4: 'et sicut olitanam traditionem a notario sanctae romanae ecclesiae.'

prominent part as secretaries, who read aloud the letters, prepared the replies, etc. In the Lateran Synod of 643, for example, under Martin I, we have frequent mention of Theophylactus, *Primicerius notariorum apostolicae sedis*, and five others *notarii regionarii*, Paschasius, Theodorus, Anastasius, Exsuperius, and Paschalis.

At the head of the *Schola Notariorum* was the *Primicerius*, who became the chancellor,[1] and next under him the *Secundicerius*, or secretary of the Roman Curia. The *Schola* contained not only notaries proper, but also a body of officials known as *Scriniarii*. These wrote letters dictated by the chancellor, or the chief counsellor, drew up public instruments, deeds of gift and the like.

Thus, a letter written to the abbot of St. Denis in 786 for Pope Hadrian ends: *Scriptum per manum Christophori, Notarii et Scriniarii sedis nostrae, in mense Iunio, Indict. IX. Datum Kal. Iulii, per manum Anastasii, Primicerii;*[2] a bull of Pope Stephen's in 752: *Scriptum per manus Benedicti, Scriniarii S.R.E.;*[3] and a letter from Pope Paschal in 819: *Scriptum per manus Theodorici Scriniarii S.R.E.*[4] And again, a bull of Pope Martin, 944: *Scriptum per manum Adriani, Scriniarii S.R.E. Data per manus Stephani, Primicerii defensorum summae apostolicae Sedis.*[5]

It was one of these, Leontius, *Notarius regionarius, et Scriniarius*, who read out from the ambo at St. Peter's an account of all that had happened at the Roman Synod of 769.[6]

Evidently, too, the function of *Notarius* and *Scriniarius* could be combined in the same person.

All the notaries of the Roman See, like the counsellors, are addressed by St. Gregory with the title *Experientia tua.*

Another important official of the Roman Court was the

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[1] George Cassander, *Ordo Romanus de officio missae*, Coloniae, 1561; p. 64.

[2] Martin Bouquet, *Rerum gallicarum et francicarum scriptores*, Paris, 1744; t. v, 597.

[3] L. A. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum scriptores*, t. i, pars. ii, 356.

[4] *Ibid.*, 385.

[5] *Ibid.*, 433.

[6] Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, i, 472, 482.

Saccellarius or treasurer, who administered the finances. In the procession to the stational church he rode immediately behind the pope, in company with the vicar, the sacristan, and the invitationer; and, with the last named, attended to any petitioners on the route. At *Agnus Dei* these two and the vicar's notary stood before the pope, and wrote down the names of all those who were to be invited to breakfast with either the pope or the vicar.

The treasurer belonged to the *Schola Notariorum*, and often was one of the district-notaries. At the Roman Council of 745, Theophanius, *Notarius regionarius et Saccellarius*, read Boniface's letter to the assembly. In 756, Pope Stephen sent to King Pippin,[1] John, *regionarium nostrumque Saccellarium;* and, in the life of Pope Hadrian, Stephen the treasurer is also described as *Notarius regionarius et Saccellarius*. In the Life of Stephen III (768–772) we read of one Sergius, son of Christopher the *Primicerius* or chancellor, who was treasurer, and afterwards *Secundicerius* or secretary, and later on *Nomenclator* as well.

But in the Life of Gregory II (715–731) we are told that he was made subdeacon and treasurer under Sergius, and that the library was committed to his care. Perhaps the office had not been entirely appropriated to the notaries at that date; or Gregory may have been a notary who afterwards proceeded to orders.

Another court functionary belonging to the *Schola Notariorum* was the *Nomenclator* or invitationer.

In the days of Cicero and the early Empire the *Nomenclator* was a slave who attended his master for the purpose of telling him the names of those whom he met when canvassing for votes.[2] He also greeted his master's guests, and announced them to him—a post, we are told, more fitted for a young man than an old, requiring a

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[1] M. Bouquet, *Rerum gallicarum et francicarum scriptores*, Paris, 1744; t. v, 500 B.

[2] M. T. Cicero, *Ep. ad Atticum*, Lib. IV: Ep. 1: § 1; *Oratio pro L. Murena*, xxxvi, 77.

good and quick memory.[1] Slaves of this class were apt, Seneca tells us, to give a guest a fictitious name when they could not remember his real one. They also delivered invitations to feasts, etc. Caligula used to send his *Nomenclatores* about the town to invite young men and old to his debaucheries.[2]

In the fifth century there were some minor officials under the prefect for the city called *Nomenclatores*, but we learn nothing of their duties from *Notitia Dignitatum Imperii Romani.*

The ecclesiastical official of this name was no doubt adapted from the last. We first hear of him in the *Liber Pontificalis* in the Life of Pope Agatho (678–681); and his chief function in the *Ordo I* is to assist the treasurer in attending to any petitions presented to the pope on the way to the stational mass, and with other notaries to write down the names of those invited to breakfast with the pope, and deliver the invitations afterwards.[3]

It is probable that his creation as a distinct officer is later than the time of St. Gregory the Great (*θ* 604), for an incident in that pope's life shows that the treasurer issued the invitations at that time.[4] Perhaps the treasurer's appearance before the pope to write down the names is merely a relic of his old function, for the invitationer and the vicar's notary would have been quite sufficient for the purpose; and after they have taken down the names it is only the two latter who deliver the invitations, the one on behalf of the pope, and the other of the vicar. The treasurer's presence is thus superfluous,

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[1] L. A Seneca, *Liber de tranquillitate animi*, Epist. 27; *De beneficiis*, Lib. I: cap. iii; Lib. VI: cap. 33; *Opera Omnia*, Antwerpiae, 1652; pp. 163, 265, 360, 435.

[2] Suetonius, *Caligula*, xli. Seneca, Ep. 19; *Opera*, 421.

[3] Ducange (*s. v.* Nomenclator) notes that this practice of issuing invitations to breakfast with the bishop still obtained in French cathedral churches at pontifical public masses in the eighteenth century. At Lincoln in the fourteenth century, invitations were issued at the spreading of the corporas before the gospel (Henry Bradshaw and Chr. Wordsworth, *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral*, Cambridge, 1892; i, 378).

[4] John the Deacon, *Vita S. Gregorii*, Lib. II: cap. 23: *Opera Omnia*, t. iv, 52.

and is best accounted for as merely the conservative persistence of an old practice that had become anomalous after the creation of a special officer for inviting guests.

In the Council of Rome in 745 one Gregory figures as *Notarius regionarius et Nomenclator*. That turbulent person Paschalis, who is spoken of as chancellor in the Life of Leo III in 799, is elsewhere [1] described as *Nomenclator*.

§ xxiii. *Almoner.*

The *Supplementarius* or *Subpulmentarius* appears to have been the official who distributed the pope's alms.[2]

§ xxiv. *Sacristan.*

The *Vestararius* or *Vestiarius* had charge of the vestry, that is, of the chalices, patens, and other vessels used at the stational masses, as well as of the books such as the grail and the gospel-books.[3]

§ xxv. *Counsellor. Defensor.*

Amongst the minor officials of the Roman Empire in the fourth and following centuries was one called *Defensor Civitatis*. His duties were implied by his name of *defender*, that is, he held the position of parent towards the people, and was empowered to restrain official immoderation and the impudence (*procacitas*) of judges, for which purpose he had free right of application to the judges whenever he wished. He was not to allow the country or town's folk to be ruined by *descriptiones*, and was enabled to stop any excessing of damages more than were sought from those whom he ought to watch over as his own children. He had to assist in every way those who were engaging in

[1] M. Bouquet, *Rerum gallicarum et francicarum scriptores*, v, 190, 321, 350, 465.
[2] Ducange, *s. v.* SUBPULMENTARIUS. [3] *Ibid.*, VESTIARIUS.

a public action. He set aside the pleadings of fautors of crime, and directed the proper prosecution of certain crimes. In a small way, moreover, he exercised judicial functions: he could settle money cases up to three hundred gold pieces, and hear lesser criminal cases and give suitable punishment. When a testamentary trustee or a trustee-at-law was lacking, he with the bishop or other public persons had to create trustees or guardians for either minor or adult, when their means amounted to fifty solidi. In general he had to defend the people and the *decuriones* from all immoderation and injustice on the part of the ill-disposed, and not to cease to be what his name implied, *i. e.* defender of the citizens.

No one could refuse to undertake the office of *Defensor*, and deputies were strictly forbidden.[1]

Such was the civil office which the Church copied and adapted to the needs of her ecclesiastical organization. With the developments of this office in the Provinces we are not now concerned, but only with those at Rome. The letters of St. Gregory the Great tell us much of these ecclesiastical officers, for a large number of them were written to various *Defensores*. From these and other sources we learn that the defence of Church interests in general was one of their primary duties. They had to administer alms, etc., given for the poor,[2] and care for widows[3] and the oppressed.[4] The government of the patrimony of the Roman Church[5] lying in the Provinces was sometimes committed to them; they acted as arbitrators[6] on behalf of the pope in matters referred to him for his decision, and they sometimes saw that the

[1] This account of the duties of the *Defensor civitatis* is gathered from *Cod. Justiniani*, Lib. I: tit. lv, *De Defensoribus Civitatum*, and *Authenticae seu Novellae Constitutiones Justiniani*, Collatio III: tit. ii, *De Defensoribus Civitatum*.

[2] Lib. I: Ep. 18, 24, 46, 56, 67. Lib. IV: Ep. 28, 33. Lib. VI: Ep. 7, 39. Lib. VIII: Ep. 23. Lib. IX: Ep. 39. Lib. IX: Ep. 2, 9, 44.

[3] Lib. III: Ep. 5. Lib. VI: 38. Lib. XI: Ep. 17.

[4] Lib. I: 39, 55. Lib. X: Ep. 53. Lib. XI: Ep. 18, 77. Lib. XII: Ep. 3, 42, 44.

[5] Lib. III: Ep. 22. Lib. VI: Ep. 7. Lib. IX: Ep. 18, 57.

[6] Lib. IX: Ep. 23, 56. Lib. XI: Ep. 37.

provisions of wills[1] were properly carried out. In cases where it was necessary to intervene between a bishop and his clergy, they were cautioned to be tactful and not to subvert due reverence and discipline.[2] A knowledge of ecclesiastical law[3] was of great use to them, although it does not appear that this was an essential condition of their appointment.

Justinian gave them duties resembling those of our Registrar of Marriages. In the 74th Novel it is ordered[4] that, in case of the greater dignitaries, members of the imperial family, senators, and officials of the rank of *Illustris*, there must for a valid marriage be a dowry and an ante-nuptial gift, etc.

> 'But as concerns any one in the more honourable military or civil employments, or the more worthy businesses : if he should wish to cohabit lawfully with a wife and not to draw up a nuptial deed ; let him not do it anyhow, carelessly, without caution, and without public recognition, but let him come to some house of prayer, and let him inform the *Defensor* of that most holy church. He, thereupon, summoning three or four of the most reverend clergymen, shall draw up a declaration stating that *in the —— indiction, in the month of ——, on the —— day of the month, in the —— year of our reign, under —— Consul, he and she came before him in the house of prayer ——, and were joined together each to the other*. If, indeed, both of them coming together, or either of them, wish to enter into an undertaking of this sort, let them do it in this way ; and let them and the *Defensor* of the most holy church, and the remaining three, or as many as they wish, subscribe their names ; the names of those signing, however, are not to be less than three in number.'

The 117th Novel compels the highest dignitaries, including the *Illustres*, to have a marriage contract drawn up, but says nothing of the place or person who is to draw it up.[5]

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[1] Lib. IX : Ep. 24, 26, 40, 46. Lib. XI : Ep. 20, 37. [2] Lib. VII : Ep. 66.

[3] Petrus quem defensorem fecimus quia de massa iuris ecclesiae nostrae quae Vitalis dicitur oriundus sit, Experientiae tuae bene est cognitum (Lib. XII : Ep. 25, *Ad Romanum*).

[4] *Auth. Collat.* VI : tit. iii : Nov. lxxiv : cap. iv, *Illud quoque melius.*

[5] *Ibid.*, VIII : tit. xviii Nov. cxvii : cap. iv, *Quia vero legem.*

St. Gregory the Great in a letter to Boniface, his chief counsellor,[1] granted the privilege to seven counsellors, to be selected by him, of being *defensores regionarii*, as a recognition of the good work which the School had done: thus extending to them privileges long enjoyed by the Schools of notaries and of subdeacons.

Sometimes, at any rate, they were married. Thus St. Gregory directs Anthemius the subdeacon to look after the needs of Theodora, widow of Sabinus the counsellor of Sardinia.

They were formally addressed (by St. Gregory) as *Experientia tua:* a title shared by certain notaries and subdeacons; whether because they were combining the duty and office of *Defensor* with their own, or because it belonged equally to the Schools of notaries and of subdeacons is not clear.

Defensores ecclesiae appear to have been usually laymen; but the office was often the preliminary to orders, and sometimes the counsellor who became a subdeacon continued his defensorial duties, as in the case of Anthemius,[2] who is called by both titles in a letter to him from St. Gregory. Peter the subdeacon[3] seems to be another instance. Cyprian the deacon[4] and Candidus the presbyter[5] appear to be cases where the taking of orders had advanced still further. It is to be noticed, however, that the *Defensores* and subdeacons are called *Experientia tua*, but Cyprian and Candidus, *Dilectio tua*.

The following formula appears in St. Gregory's letters[6] granting the office of *Defensor:*

> 'Si nulli conditioni vel corpore teneris obnoxius, nec fuisti clericus alterius civitatis, aut in nullo tibi canonum obviant statuta, officium Ecclesiae Defensor accipias: ut quidquid pro pauperum commodis tibi a nobis iniunctum fuerit, incorrupte et vivaciter exequaris, usurus hoc privilegio quod in te habita

[1] Ep. xiv: Lib. VIII: Indict. I.: *Opera Omnia*, Parisiis, 1705; t. ii, 905.
[2] St. Gregory the Great, Lib. VII: Epist. 23.
[3] *Ibid.*, Lib. I: Ep. 18, 46, 56, 67, etc.
[4] *Ibid.*, Lib. VI: Ep. 39.
[5] *Ibid.*, Lib. VI: Ep. 7. Candidus *Defensor* is addressed in Lib. IV: Ep. 28.
[6] *Ibid.*, Lib. V: Ep. 29, and Lib. XI: Ep. 38: *Opera*, t. ii, 756, 1120.

deliberatione contulimus : ut omnibus quae tibi a nobis fuerint iniuncta, complendis operam tuam fidelis exhibeas, redditurus de actibus tuis sub Dei nostri iudicio rationem.'

In an *Ordo Romanus* printed by Hittorp there is a long *Ordo ad armandum ecclesiae defensorem vel alium militem.* It comprises forms for blessing his banner, lance, sword, the knight himself, and his shield.[1] I am unable to trace any connection between the *Defensor ecclesiae* of this *Ordo* and the official of the same title in our *Ordo I* : nor has the form marks of Roman provenance, but rather of Gallican.

In the thirteenth century, John the Deacon[2] enumerates the chief *Defensor*, 'the first amongst the *Defensores*, whom we call *advocati*,' as the sixth of the Palatine judges or ordinaries. The advocates and the counsellors seem to be distinguished from each other in *Ordo I* : but evidently at a later period the two classes became one.

§ xxvi. *Sextons. Mansionarii.*

These were subordinate officials whose duties were to keep the church clean and tidy, see to the adorning of it, light the lamps, and the like : they seem to correspond more to the sexton of the later middle ages, so far as duties are concerned, than to any one else.

St. Gregory the Great tells a story or two, illustrating a portion at least of their duties. One Constantius[3] served the church of St. Stephen, which was without its *mansionarius* for a time ; and in attending to the lamps found that the oil had run short. Whereupon he filled the lamps with water and put the papyrus wicks in, and they miraculously burned just as if full of oil ! In another place[4] he relates how one Theodore, *mansionarius* of

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[1] *De divinis catholicae ecclesiae officiis*, Parisiis, 1610; col. 178 *sq.*

[2] *Museum Italicum*, ii, 570.

[3] *Dialogorum Liber I*: cap. v; *Opera*, ii, 173.

[4] *Ibid.*, III: cap. xxiv; ii, 333.

St. Peter's, was one night standing on a pair of wooden steps attending to the lights near the door as usual, when suddenly St. Peter himself appeared to him. Elsewhere [1] he mentions a *mansionarius* of St. Peter's, named Acontius, who was miraculously healed of paralysis.

In the *Ordo* of St. Amand [2] the sextons of the titular churches are sent on Easter Even to the Lateran for the *Fermentum* consecrated by the pope, which they carry back wrapped up in a corporas.

At a later period they are spoken of as ringing the bells for mass and the hours at suitable times, and lighting the lamps. In an old *Ordo Romanus* the wardens or sextons have these duties specifically assigned to them,[3] as well as the care of altar linen and all other church ornaments.

Under the title *aedituus* this official is mentioned by Prudentius [4] and St. Paulinus of Nola.[5] He is also called *custos ecclesiae* by many writers.[6]

§ xxvii. *Titular Church.*

The division of Rome into titles or parishes is ascribed to Evaristus (112–121) in the *Liber Pontificalis*. Marcellus is also said to have instituted titles in the city for the baptism and penance of those who were converted from paganism, and because of the tombs of the martyrs.

Mabillon [7] has shown from the lists of the names of those subscribing the acts of Roman councils that in the fifth century to each titular church there was at least one presbyter attached, and sometimes two, or three, or even four.

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[1] *Dialogorum Liber I*: cap. xxv.

[2] Duchesne, *Origines*, 454.

[3] *Decretal.* Greg. IX, Lib. I: tit. xxvii: cap. i.

[4] Aurelius Prudentius Clemens, *Peristephanon*, ix, *Passio Cassiani Martyris in foro Corneliano*, l. 17.

[5] Paulinus, Epist. vi.

[6] See Ducange, *s. v.* Custos, 1.

[7] *Museum Italicum*, t. ii, pp. xiii *sq.* In the list at the end of the Council in 595, eleven titles have two presbyters each.

In the letter of Innocent I to Decentius in 416 the titular churches are clearly distinguished from the oratories or smaller churches attached to cemeteries. To the presbyters of the former was allotted a cure of souls, but not to those of the latter: to the former the *Fermentum* was sent every Sunday, but not to the latter.

Ordo Romanus I]

Part II

Solemn Mass and its Ritual

PART II

SOLEMN MASS AND ITS RITUAL

Let us briefly picture to ourselves the service described in detail in *Ordo Romanus I.*

The congregation is gathered together : the men on one side, the women on the other. In the apse are seated the bishops and priests, on either side of the throne. The pope and his attendants have come into the church, and are vesting in the sacristy. Then the subdeacon-attendant comes out of the sacristy and proceeds through the church up to the altar, followed by a collet who is carrying, with his hands underneath his planet, a large book, magnificently bound—the gospel-book ; on arriving at the altar the subdeacon takes it from the collet, and lays it solemnly on the altar. As they enter every one rises in honour of the gospels. The subdeacon and collet then retire to the sacristy.

The singers enter and take their places before the altar within the quire, which is divided from the rest of the church by a low screen. At a signal from the sacristy, they begin to chant the anthem and psalm called the introit : and just after they have begun, the procession of the pope and his assistants leaves the sacristy, headed by seven collets carrying lighted candles, and the subdeacon-attendant carrying a golden censer, and proceeds to the altar. In the presbytery the deacons take off their planets, so as to leave their arms free for the service of the altar. Then two collets approach the pope with the reserved Eucharist, in order that he may see that the required quantity is there for the ceremony of the *Sancta*. The pope next prays silently before the altar, and then gives the kiss of peace to one of the bishops, to the archpresbyter and to the deacons.

Then he signals to the precentor to stop singing the introit-psalm and finish with the *Gloria;* and during *As it was* the deacons two by two go up to the altar and kiss either end of it. When they have finished, the pope goes up himself, kisses the gospel-book and the altar, and then proceeds to his throne in the centre of the apse, where he stands facing eastwards.

Having sung the anthem of the introit for the last time, the choir sing the Kyries, until the pope signs to the precentor to make an end. When the last *Kyrie eleison* has been sung, the pope turns round towards the people and intones the *Gloria in excelsis*, turning back again at once to the east while the choir continue and finish it. Then, after saluting the people, the pope says the collect, facing eastwards. After that, he sits down on his throne, and signs to the bishops and presbyters to sit in like manner: and at the same time the district-subdeacons go up and stand right and left of the altar, excepting him who is appointed to read the epistle. The latter goes up into the ambo (that on the south side if there be two), reads the epistle, and descends. As soon as he has finished, a singer carries the grail up into the ambo and sings the responsory-psalm. Then, another singer comes up, and sings the *Alleluia* and verse, or the tract, according to the season. The choir sing their parts, as is set out more fully in Appendix III.

The singing ended, the deacon appointed to read the gospel goes to the pope and, kissing his feet, receives his blessing. He then goes up to the altar, takes up the gospel-book, and, preceded by two district-subdeacons with the censer, and two collets with lighted candles, goes to the ambo (that on the north side of the quire, if there be two). Then one of the subdeacons comes forward, and makes an impromptu book-rest with his left arm, so that the deacon may prop up the book while he finds the place to read. Then, slipping a finger in the place as he takes the book again, he carries it up into the ambo, and there reads the gospel. This done, he comes down again, and hands

the book to the subdeacon, who gives it to the subdeacon-attendant standing near in his place. He holds it for all who stand in the quire to kiss, and then a collet comes up with its case in which to put it away.

Meanwhile the pope salutes the people and invites them to pray. But in the eighth century no one prayed. The prayers of the faithful had disappeared.

The gospeller meantime returns to the altar, and taking the corporas (which at that time was of the size of a large altar-cloth), goes to one end of the altar, lays it down, throwing the other end of the cloth over to another deacon to spread, just as one ordinarily spreads the cloth on the dinner-table.

The pope and his attendants then go down to the people to receive the offerings, loaves of bread and flasks of wine. The pope receives the loaves, the archdeacon the wine. As the loaves are offered, they are passed on to two collets who receive them in a linen bag or cloth. As the flasks of wine are offered, they are poured into a large two-handled chalice carried by a district-subdeacon : and when that is filled, it is emptied into bowls held by collets. The offertory of the people over, the pope goes back to his throne, and washes his hands ; and the archdeacon does the same before the altar. Then at a sign from the pope, the latter goes up to the altar and arranges the loaves in rows upon it. Next he receives the wine-offerings of the clergy and the water-offering from the choir. The wine he pours into the large chalice, and then the water. Then the pope receives the loaf-offerings of the clergy, and sets them on the altar. Finally, the archdeacon takes the chalice from the subdeacon who has been hitherto holding it, and sets it down on the altar to the right of the loaf offered for the pope, the offertory veil being twisted through its handles ; then withdrawing the veil he lays it down at the altar-end, and goes and stands behind the pope.

Meanwhile, the choir have been singing the offertory anthem and psalm ; but as soon as the altar has been duly

ordered, the pope, standing at the altar, signs to them to stop, and says the secret-prayer over the oblations in an undertone, raising his voice for the last clause, *For ever and ever*, that the people may answer *Amen*.

During the secret-prayer, and until the end of the canon, the clergy group themselves about the altar ; the bishops immediately behind the pope, with the archdeacon on their right, the second deacon on their left, and the rest in order in a line. The district-subdeacons stand behind the altar facing the pope, who proceeds with the preface ; and when the choir have sung *Sanctus* he begins the canon in an undertone.

At the end of the canon, when the pope is saying the words, *By Him and with Him*, etc., the archdeacon comes to the altar, passes the offertory veil through the handles of the large chalice, and, lifting it up, holds it towards the pope, who touches it with one of the consecrated loaves until the end of the prayer. Then the archdeacon sets the chalice down again, and removes the veil. A collet has held the paten in a sudary from the beginning of the canon, standing behind the deacons ; at the middle of the canon he gives it to the subdeacon-attendant, who, a little later, hands it to a district-subdeacon. At the end of the canon the latter comes and stands behind the archdeacon, who, when in the Embolism the pope says, *And safe from all unquiet*, turns round, kisses the paten, and then takes it and hands it to the second deacon to hold.

At *the Peace of the Lord*, etc., the pope performs the ceremony of the *Sancta*, making a cross thrice with his hand over the chalice, and dropping a fragment of a loaf (consecrated at the last solemn mass and reserved for the purpose) into the same. Meanwhile the archdeacon gives the kiss of peace to the chief bishop, the rest of the clergy, and the people.

The pope next breaks one of the loaves, leaves a fragment upon the altar, puts the rest on the paten held by a deacon, and then goes back to his throne. Immediately the chancellor and the rest of the notaries go up

to the altar, and stand on the right and left; but three of their number, as soon as the choir begin to sing *Agnus Dei*, go up to the pope, and take down the names of those who are to be invited to breakfast with him or his vicar.

Whilst they are delivering these invitations, the archdeacon lifts the chalice off the altar, and gives it to the district-subdeacon to hold at the right corner of the altar. The subdeacons-attendant, and the collets with their sacks, draw near, and the collets hold out their sacks, while the subdeacons keep the necks of the same open, so that the archdeacon may fill them with the loaves from off the altar. The collets then go to the bishops, and the subdeacons go to the presbyters to help in the fraction. The paten is carried to the throne by two district-subdeacons, so that the deacons may break the loaves on it.

The fraction for distribution being accomplished, the second deacon takes the paten to the throne for the pope to communicate; who, after having done so, drops a small fragment into the chalice which the archdeacon has brought up to the throne, and then is communicated with the sacrament of the Blood.

Then the archdeacon announces the next station. After this, he pours a little of the consecrated wine out of the chalice into the bowls held by the collets, which contain unconsecrated wine. Next the bishop and presbyters approach the throne so that the pope may housel them; and they are communicated with the chalice by the chief hebdomadary bishop. The deacons and chief court-officers are communicated in like manner. Their method of communicating is curious. As they receive the species of bread from the pope's hands, they go to the end of the altar (the bishops and presbyters to the left, but the deacons to the right), and, placing their hands upon the altar, so communicate.

Then the archdeacon takes the large chalice from the senior bishop, pouring its contents into one of the bowls held by the collets, and hands the empty chalice to a

district-subdeacon, receiving from him a reed for the communicating the people with the species of wine. The chalice is then given to the subdeacon-attendant to put away in the sacristy. Then the pope and the bishops communicate the rest of the clergy with the species of bread, the archdeacon and the deacons following with the species of wine.

Then follows the communion of the people, and immediately the choir begin to sing the communion-anthem and psalm with the subdeacons. The communion of the people differs from that of the higher clergy in that they partake of the wine through a reed, and that the wine is hallowed indirectly only, by the addition of a small quantity of wine from the chalice consecrated by the pope.

As soon as the pope sees that the people have nearly finished communicating, he signs to the precentor to begin the *Gloria Patri*. And when the anthem has been sung for the last time, the pontiff comes before the altar and says the post-communion collect, facing eastwards. Then a deacon announces the dismissal; and the pope and his attendants depart as they came, save that he blesses the members of each order one after another in groups.

A service like this took a considerable time, especially when there was a sermon as well as a very large number of offerers and communicants. St. Gregory, whose later years were troubled with much illness, wrote to Eulogius, the patriarch of Alexandria, telling him that he was afflicted with such severe gout that he scarcely had strength to rise to celebrate the solemn mass on festivals which lasted three hours.[1] Three hours seems a long time to us in the present day, who are inclined to grumble if a mass takes longer than one hour.

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[1] Ecce enim iam biennium pene expletur quod lectulo teneor, tantisque podagrae doloribus affligor, ut vix in diebus festis usque ad horarum trium spatium surgere valeam missarum solemnia celebrare (Lib. X: Ep. xxv: *Opera*, ii, 1064)

§ i. *The Introit.*

As soon as everything is ready, the singers arrange themselves in a double row on either side of the quire, and the precentor begins the anthem for the entry, or introit. This consists of an anthem and a psalm, the anthem being sung first, and then again after each verse of the psalm. The choir continue singing whilst the pope and his attendants pass from the sacristy to the altar, until the pope gives the signal to finish and sing *Glory be to the Father*. The verses of the psalm that remain are sung at the communion.

The introduction of this practice is attributed to Pope Celestine (423-432). In the *Liber Pontificalis* it is recorded that 'he appointed that the hundred and fifty psalms of David should be sung antiphonally by all before the sacrifice, which used not to be done before, but only the epistles of St. Paul and the holy gospel were read, and so masses were celebrated.' The passage is not as clear as it might be, but it can hardly refer to anything else than the introit, which is an antiphonal-psalm ; the suggestion that the grail is intended cannot be upheld, for that was a responsorial-psalm.

We must note that the introit is sung to occupy the time taken up by the entry of the papal procession, and is not, as is the grail, a scripture-lesson during which nothing is done.

§ ii. *The Kyries.*

When the choir have finished the introit-anthem, they begin the Kyries. The number of times the imprecations *Kyrie eleison*, *Christe eleison* were sung was not fixed, but determined by the will of the pope (or whoever was celebrating), who signed to the precentor when he wished to change the number of times that the Kyries were repeated.

In the earliest post-apostolic account of the Roman or

Ordo Romanus I.]

any other liturgy known to us—that given by Justin Martyr, about the middle of the second century—the service was composed of lessons from Holy Scripture, a sermon from the bishop, and prayers made by the whole congregation, followed by an eucharistic prayer to which the congregation assented with *Amen*, and a general communion.

> 'On the day called Sunday all who dwell in cities or in the country meet together in one place, and the narratives of the apostles or the writings of the prophets are read as long as there is time. When the reader has finished, the president verbally instructs us, and exhorts us to imitate those good persons (or things) [of whom we have just heard]. Then we all stand up together, and offer up prayers; and, our prayers being over, bread and wine and water are brought in, and the president in like manner offers up prayers and thanksgivings to the best of his ability, and the people shout assent, saying *Amen;* and there is a distribution to each person and a general partaking of that over which the thanksgiving has been made, and it is sent to those who are not present by the deacons.'[1]

The prayers of the faithful came after the lessons and sermon. In *Ordo I* we find that the pontiff, at the conclusion of the gospel, turned to the people and invited them to pray; but no one prayed. This invitation is all that there remained of the prayers made by the people, of which Justin Martyr tells us; but Fleury,[2] and after him Duchesne,[3] consider that the solemn orisons, still recited on Good Friday in the Roman rite, are the solitary survival of these prayers at this point of the service. They were said also in the ninth century on the Wednesday before Easter;[4] and there is nothing to connect them intrinsically with the solemnities of Passion Week. They

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[1] Justin Martyr, *Apologia I*, cap. lxvii.

[2] Fleury, *Les Moeurs des Chrestiens*, 137.

[3] Duchesne, *Origines*, 164–5.

[4] *Museum Italicum*, ii, 19, 32. They were said on both days at Vienne and Besançon in the eighteenth century (De Moleon, *Voyages Liturgiques*, Paris, 1757; p 427). These or similar prayers are mentioned by St. Austin in his Epistle to Vitalius (Ep. 217: cap. i: n. 2: *Opera*, Antwerpiae, 1700; t. ii, col. 608); and also by Pseudo-Caelestine in the first Epistle to the bishops of Gaul.

are prayers for the needs of the Church, her hierarchy and all the faithful, for the sick, and for heretics, Jews, and infidels. But it must be remarked that they are prayers *for* and not *of* the faithful, quite different in form from the people's prayers of the Oriental rites, where the deacon announces a subject similar to the 'That it may please thee' clauses of the Litany in the Book of Common Prayer, and the people respond *Kyrie eleison* after each one. In the Eastern rites the people, as Mr. Edmund Bishop[1] points out, are something accounted of in the forms of public worship: in the solemn orisons of Good Friday they are as nearly as possible nothing. And in this latter liturgical note he recognizes historically the true, genuine Roman tendency and spirit. It may be that at one time the bidding portion of these solemn orisons was recited by the deacon, and that the people actually prayed themselves, all being concluded by the bishop's summing-up prayer; but as time went on their prayers were gradually eliminated, and the prayer by the bishop remained as the substitute for them. St. Austin[2] seems to allude to some such bidding by deacons when he says, 'either the bishop prays with a clear voice, or common prayer is indicated by the voice of the deacon.'

However this may be, with the growth of the vigil service (which in essential form is only the mass of the catechumens separated from that of the faithful) the prayers of the faithful were gradually eliminated from the body of the mass, and took the form of a litany, concluded by the prayer of the bishop, who thus collected in one the several petitions of the people. The collect was thus the *collecta* or *collectio*— the gathering together of the people's prayers. In the eighth century and afterwards, when the Litany was sung in procession before a public mass, the service in the

[1] Edmund Bishop, *Kyrie Eleison, a liturgical Consultation*, in the *Downside Review* for December 1899 and March 1900.

[2] *Ad inquisitiones Ianuarii*, Lib. II: Ep. 55: § 34: cap. xviii: *Opera*, t. ii, col. 107.

church began at once with the *Pax vobis* and the collect, just as it does still in the Roman rite on Easter Even; and when, as at ordinations, the Litany was sung after the grail, the Kyries were likewise omitted at the beginning of mass.[1]

The Kyries are, therefore, the remnant of a litany, and are all that is left (save on Good Friday) of the ancient prayers of the faithful. Since procession-days, on which alone this connection between collect and litany was clear, were comparatively few, it gradually appeared to ritualists that on Litany-days Kyries and *Gloria in excelsis* were omitted: and consequently the collect seemed to them an *oratio ad collectam*—a prayer at the place of gathering together; and the connection between the collect and the people's prayers became lost.

We may ask whether *Kyrie eleison* was part of the prayers of the congregation in Justin Martyr's time, or if it was introduced later; and if so, when, and whence?

Many years ago the learned and ingenious Dom Claude de Vert[2] pointed out that this form of precation was in use amongst the heathen, and quotes Arrian (circ. 170 A.D.), who makes Epictetus[3] the Stoic say: 'And now with trembling we take hold of the bird-augur, and, calling upon the god, pray to him, *Kyrie eleison*, help me to get out of my trouble.' The first intimation that *Kyrie* was used in Christian worship in Rome comes to us from the council held at Vaison in 529, which was, as Mr. Bishop tells us, a Romanizing rather than a Gallicanizing collection of bishops. The third canon of this council states that 'since both in the Apostolic See, and throughout all the provinces of the East and of Italy, the sweet and extremely salutary custom has been introduced of saying *Kyrie eleison*

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[1] Duchesne, *Origines*, 156, 457; *Museum Italicum*, ii, 85, 88.

[2] Claude de Vert, *Explication . . . des Cérémonies de l'Eglise*, Paris, 1706; t. i, pp. 94–5.

[3] Νῦν δὲ τρέμοντες τὸν ὀρνιθάριον κρατοῦμεν, καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐπικαλούμενοι δεόμεθα αὐτοῦ· Κύριε ἐλέησον, επίτρεψόν μοι ἐξελθεῖν (Epictetus, *Dissertationes ab Arriano digestae*, Lib. II: cap. 7; edit. J. Schweighäuser, Lipsiae, 1799; t. i, p. 202).

with great feeling and compunction ; it pleases us, too, that in all our churches this same holy practice shall be introduced, both at mattins, mass, and evensong.' Mr. Bishop shows that for the first three hundred and fifty years of Christendom no trace of the liturgical use of *Kyrie eleison* at all is to be found ; and the Council of Vaison says that it had been *introduced* into the Church of Rome, as though its origin was recent, arising out of popular devotion.

The next piece of information that we have is St. Gregory the Great's letter[1] to John bishop of Syracuse, assigned to the year 598.

> 'Some one coming from Sicily has told me that some friends of his, whether Greeks or Latins I know not, zealous of course for the Roman Church, grumble about my arrangements, saying : This is how he sets about keeping the Church of Constantinople in its place, by following its customs in everything ! And when I said to him, Which of its customs do we follow ? he answered, Why, you have caused *Alleluia* to be said in masses out of Eastertide, you have ordered the subdeacons to go in procession without their planets, you have caused *Kyrie eleison* to be said, you have appointed the Lord's Prayer to be said immediately after the canon.
>
> 'And I answered, Well, in none of these things have we followed any other Church. For saying *Alleluia* thus, is said to have been taken from the Church of Jerusalem in the days of Pope Damasus of blessed memory, according to the tradition of blessed Jerome ; and so we have rather curtailed that practice in this matter, which had been handed down by the Greeks. I did, however, cause subdeacons to proceed without their planets, and it was an ancient custom of the Church. But some one of our bishops, I know not who, ordered them to proceed vested. Now, did we take this tradition from the Greeks ? Whence comes it to-day, do you suppose, that the subdeacons proceed in linen tunics, save that they were ordered so to do by their mother the Roman Church ?
>
> 'As to *Kyrie eleison*, we neither have said it, nor do we now, as it is said by the Greeks : for among them all the people sing

[1] St. Gregory, Epist. xii : Lib. IX : Indict. II : *Opera Omnia*, Parisiis, 1705 ; t. ii, 940 *sq.*

it together, whilst with us it is said by the clerks, and the people make answer; and *Christe eleison* (which is never said among the Greeks) is said by us as many times as *Kyrie eleison*. But in ferial masses we leave out the other things which are usually said, and only say *Kyrie eleison* and *Christe eleison*, so that we may be engaged a little longer in the words of supplication.

'But we say the Lord's Prayer directly after the canon for the following reason; because it was the custom of the apostles to consecrate the sacrificial oblation solely with this prayer. And it seemed to me extremely unsuitable to say over the oblations the canon, which was composed by some learned man, and not to say over his Body and Blood that prayer which our Redeemer himself composed. Moreover, amongst the Greeks the Lord's Prayer is said by all the people, but with us by the priest alone. In what, therefore, have we followed the customs of the Greeks, since we have either revived old customs of our own, or established new and useful ones, in which nevertheless we are not shewn to have imitated others?'

Leaving for the present, to be dealt with later in their proper places, the other innovations with which St. Gregory was charged, we note that he was accused of introducing the use of *Kyrie eleison* into the mass, and that he nowhere denies the charge, merely saying that he had not imitated any other Church in his manner of using it. But, although his words naturally bear the interpretation, it would not be safe, Mr. Bishop tells us, to conclude that St. Gregory really himself introduced the practice of saying *Kyrie eleison*. It must be remembered that the Council of Vaison did not say that the Kyries had been introduced into the Roman *Mass:* so that there is nothing against St. Gregory's statement in the canon of 529. But Mr. Bishop, in opposition to Duchesne, regards the so-called Gelasian Sacramentary[1] as in substance a Roman book of the *sixth*, not the seventh, century; and he points to a rubric in the ordination of a presbyter, deacon and subdeacon therein, ordering 'that all begin *Kyrie*

[1] *The Gelasian Sacramentary*, Lib. I: c. 20; edit. H. A. Wilson, Oxford, 1894; p. 22: 'Et post modicum intervallum mox incipiant omnes *Kyrie Eleison* cum litania.'

eleison with the Litany': thus finding evidence of the practice before the time of St. Gregory. But in the face of St. Gregory's letter it would seem to be at least probable (even granting Mr. Bishop's date) that this particular rubric is one of numerous interpolations of a date later than the sixth century: and the oldest MS of the Gelasian Sacramentary is of the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century.

Mr. Bishop sums up the history of *Kyrie eleison* as follows:—'Kyrie eleison was a pre-Christian religious invocation. It found its way into public Christian services soon after the triumph of the Church, that is, in the course of the fourth century. It was at first probably a prayer of popular devotion, and popular from its very simplicity. A passage in the *Peregrinatio Silviae*[1] seems to be a record of the way in which the invocation was used before it was regularized in the Liturgy. This took place, as we should naturally expect, in Greek-speaking regions. Thence it spread to the West, through Italy; its introduction into Italy falling in the fifth century at the earliest; probably in the second half rather than in the first. It was imported into Gaul, partly by way of Arles, from Old Rome (and Italy); partly from Constantinople direct, perhaps as early as the close of the fifth century. But there seems to be substantial reasons for doubting that it was general in Gaul previous to the seventh century. As in the case of most ritual novelties, its spread was probably gradual.'[2]

So much, then, for the history of *Kyrie eleison*. We may, however, notice that in St. Gregory's time there were additions upon festivals to the simple invocation: doubtless, says Duchesne,[3] a litany more or less elaborated. We find no trace of them in *Ordo I*: but 'the other things' perhaps correspond to the 'litany' which was

[1] *S. Silviae Aquitanae Peregrinatio ad loca sancta*, edit. J. F. Gamurrini, Romae, 1888; p. 47: 'Et diacono dicente singulorum nomina, semper pisinni plurim stant respondentes semper, *Kyrie eleison;* quod dicimus nos, *miserere Domine.*'

[2] *Kyrie eleison*, ut supra.

[3] *Origines*, 156.

sung with *Kyrie* at Rome in the ninth century at the consecration of a bishop.[1] St. Gregory also says that the choir sang *Kyrie eleison*, and then the people sang it in answer; and that *Christe eleison* was sung as many times as *Kyrie eleison:* but in *Ordo I* the people have no part at all in it, the *Schola Cantorum* or choir alone singing it.

§ iii. *Gloria in Excelsis.*

After the Kyries have been sung by the choir, the pope turns towards the people and begins *Glory be to God on high*, and immediately returns to the east until the choir have finished singing it. Originally this hymn was Greek, and formed part of the morning choir-service. It was introduced into Rome during the fifth century,[2] at the Christmas mass celebrated at midnight in imitation of the custom of the Church of Jerusalem; this mass was held at the basilica of St. Mary Major, which was founded circ. 435. In the *Liber Pontificalis* we read in the Life of St. Telesphorus (142–153) that he appointed the angelical hymn, that is, *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, to be said before the Sacrifice on Christmas night [only]. In the Life of St. Symmachus (498–514) we are told that he appointed the angelical hymn, that is, *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, to be sung every Sunday or festival of a martyr. Walafrid Strabo[3] took exception to the former statement as long ago as the ninth century: how can it be true when we are told a little further on that until the time of St. Celestine (423–432) mass began with the epistle and gospel? Walafrid finds a way out of the difficulty by supposing that the angelical hymn referred to in the Life of

[1] *Ordo Romanus VIII*, n. viii (*Museum Italicum*, ii, 88). In *Ordo VII* the 'litany' sung in the procession to the font is explained 'hoc est, *Kyrie eleison*' (*Ibid.*, p. 82). In *Ordo VIII*, at the ordination of a deacon, we are told 'schola initiat, *Kyrie eleison*;' and in the next line 'expleta litania' (*Ibid.*, p. 88). The litany of these seems to be akin to the *alia quae dici solent* of St. Gregory

[2] L. Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, Paris, 1886; t. i, pp. 57, 130, n. 5.

[3] *De rebus ecclesiasticis*, c. 22.

Telesphorus is *Sanctus*, the explanation having been added in error by the compiler. In reality, however, there is not much difficulty. The earliest compiler of the Life of Telesphorus limits the use of the *Gloria* to the night of Christmas *only;* a later editor omitted the word *tantum* at a time when its use had become more extended. Both also made the mistake of throwing back the date of the introduction of *Gloria in excelsis Deo* three centuries.[1] Bishops said it at Rome after Stephen's reform whenever they celebrated mass on Sundays and Festivals, but Roman presbyters were not allowed to use it except on Easter day, until the eleventh or twelfth century. Berno,[2] abbot of Reichenau, indignantly asks why presbyters were not allowed to sing this hymn every Sunday and Festival, and asserts that if they be allowed to use it on Easter day, much more ought they on Christmas day, when it was first heard. As he flourished about 1048, it is clear that the relaxation in favour of presbyters took place at a later date than the middle of the eleventh century. Later in the century, Micrologus[3] affirms that it was said save on Childermas, and in Advent and Septuagesima, both by bishop and presbyter: but it was used in Advent at Rome in the second quarter of the twelfth century, before 1143,[4] at public masses celebrated by the pope.

§ iv. *The Collect.*

After the Kyries, or *Gloria in excelsis Deo* when that came to be sung, the pope turns to the people and says

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[1] Duchesne, as above, in note 2.

[2] *De quibusdam rebus ad missae officium spectantibus*, cap. ii.

[3] *De missa rite celebranda*, cap. ii (circa 1075). For a further relaxation by Calixtus II see Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, Lib. I: cap. iv: art. iii: § 6.

[4] It was sung on Sundays in Advent (*Orao XI*: § 4; *Museum Italicum*, ii, 120), but not in Septuagesima, except on feasts of nine lessons (§ 30, ii, 132) and on Maundy Thursday (§ 40, ii, 136): also at Easter (§ 43, ii, 139), including Ember Saturday in Whitsuntide (§ 63, ii, 148). In the thirteenth century neither *Gloria* nor Creed were used at votive masses of St. Mary (*Decretal.* Greg. IX, Lib. III: tit. 41: cap. iv).

Pax vobis, 'Peace to you;' to which they respond 'And with thy spirit.' When Amalar of Metz, in the ninth century, went to Rome for the furtherance of his liturgical studies, he was surprised to find that the *Ordo Romanus* which he had been using as the basis of his work, *De officio missae*, did not always accurately describe the rites and ceremonies which it professed to give. In the second preface[1] which he added to his book, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, he points out the chief errors. In Rome he found that the pope said *Pax vobis*, 'Peace to you,' and not *Pax vobiscum*, 'Peace be with you.'[2] He also learned that they never used more than one collect at mass.[3] Micrologus, two centuries later, points this out, but says that few keep to the rule now.[4]

Of the association of the collect to the Kyries and Litany we have spoken above.

§ v. *The Scripture Lessons.*

After the collect come the lessons from Holy Scripture and the psalm-singing. From the latter part of the fifth century, at any rate, there were usually but two scripture lessons at Rome. But traces of the prophetic lesson are found still in a few masses, such as those of Ember days, Wednesdays after the fourth and sixth Sundays in Lent, and other days. On those days there is a peculiarity of importance about the chants sung between the lessons. On other days there is sung between the epistle and gospel the grail (which is a respond in form) and an

[1] Prefatio altera, *circa finem* (Migne, *P.L.*, cv, 992).

[2] In the tenth century *Pax vobis* was the festal and *Dominus vobiscum* the penitential salutation. Leo VII, Ep. 2, in 937 wrote to the bishops of Germany and Gaul: 'Consultum est utrum episcopi *Pax vobis* an *Dominus vobiscum* pronuntiare debeant. Sed non aliter per omnem vestram provinciam tenendum est quam sancta Romana ecclesia. In dominicis enim diebus et in praecipuis festivitatibus atque sanctorum natalitiis *Gloria in excelsis Deo* et *Pax vobis* pronuntiamus; in diebus vero quadragesimae et in quattuor temporibus sive in vigiliis sanctorum et in reliquis ieiuniorum diebus *Dominus vobiscum* tantummodo dicimus.'

[3] Migne, *P.L.*, cv, 987.

[4] *De missa rite celebranda*, cap. iv.

Alleluia; or in penitential times a tract: always there are two chants. But on days when a prophetic lesson is read there is only one between the epistle and gospel, the other being sung between the prophetic lesson and the epistle. Originally, then, there was always an Old Testament lesson before the epistle; and when this was suppressed, the psalm before the epistle was interpolated before that sung after it.[1]

In the African Church of the fourth century they had a prophetic lesson, at any rate on some days. 'Amongst all the lessons which we have heard read, if your charity considers the first lesson, from the prophet Isaiah (lvii. 13), since we cannot remember or recite everything which has been read,' begins one of St. Austin's[2] sermons; 'and then went up the apostolic lesson' (2 Cor. vii, 1), he says a little later in the same discourse. In another[3] he remarks, 'which is what Solomon says, as we heard to-day first of all from another lesson' (Prov. x, 10 *sq.*), ; and then, 'Ye heard, my brethren, when the epistle to the Hebrews was read' (Heb. xiii, 17): the text of this sermon was St. Matt. xviii, 15, probably part of the gospel for that day. But at other times there seems to have been only two lessons and the psalm, which latter St. Austin properly regards as a scripture lesson. 'We have heard the apostle, we have heard the psalm, we have heard the gospel; all the divine lessons agree that we set

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[1] A spurious letter to St. Jerome from St. Damasus refers to the omission of the prophetic lesson: 'Qui tantae apud nos simplicitatis indago est, ut tantum in die dominca apostoli epistola una recitetur, et evangelii capitulum unum dicatur' (Migne, *P.L.*, xiii, 440). This bears out the statement in *Liber Pontificalis* (under Celestine) that before his time the mass began with the epistle and gospel.

[2] Sermo xlv: *Opera*, Antwerpiae, 1700; t. v, col. 153. Compare Sermo xlix: § i, where he mentions that he wished to expound the prophetic lesson read on *Sunday* last (t. v, col. 190). It does not appear whether the lesson from Micah was additional to, or a substitute for, the epistle. In Sermo xlviii: § 2 (v, 187), we read of *Lectio prima prophetica.*

[3] Sermo lxxxii: cap. v: § 8, and cap. xi: § 15; t. v, 309, 312. Compare Sermones cc: § iii (635); ccii: § v (637); cccxli: § i (915); xl: § v (142); xlvi: § i (158) and § xxxii (170). Also Sermones ccclix: § i (975); cccxliii (922); vii (27). See Appendix IV, p. 182.

our hope not in ourselves but in the Lord,' he tells his congregation upon one occasion.[1] 'All the [three] divine lessons join themselves together just as if they were but one lesson; for they all proceed from one mouth,' he tells them at another time,[2] adding that 'the mouths of those who bring us the ministry of the word are many.' It would seem as though the prophetic lesson was already in course of disappearance at Hippo by the time of St. Austin.

The reading of *all* the lessons belonged originally to the clergy in the order of lector or reader. St. Cyprian of Carthage (c. 255), in a letter to his presbyters and deacons concerning his ordination of one Aurelius, 'an illustrious youth, tender in years,' tells them that—

> 'Such an one merited a higher degree of clerical ordination and larger accessions, estimated, as he ought to be, not by his years but by his deserts. But for the present I thought it fit that he should begin with the office of reading. For nothing is more fitting for that voice, which has confessed the Lord with a glorious witness, than to be heard in the solemn reading of the divine word: than after splendid words which bore witness to Christ, to read the gospel of Christ whence his witnesses are made; than after the rack to come to the reading-desk.'[3]

And in another letter on a similar subject, he says, after Celerinus' noble confession—

> 'What else was to be done but that he should be set in the reading-desk . . . that . . . he may read the commandments and the gospel of the Lord, which he so courageously and faithfully follows. . . . There is nothing wherein a confessor can more benefit the brethren, than if while the reading of the gospel is heard from his mouth, whoso hears, would imitate the faith of the reader.'[4]

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[1] Sermo clxv; v, 554.

[2] Sermo clxx; v, 569. The lessons he denotes as the apostolical lesson, the psalm which we have just sung (§ 6) and the gospel (§ 10). Sermo clxxvi: § i (584): 'Primam lectionem audivimus Apostoli . . . Deinde cantavimus Psalmum . . . Post haec Evangelica lectio.' Sermo clxxx: § i (597): 'Prima lectio quae nobis hodie recitata est Apostoli Iacobi.'

[3] S. Caecilii Cypriani *Opera*, Oxonii, 1682; Epist xxxviii, p. 75.

[4] *Ibid.*, Epist. xxxix, p. 77.

But there was always a tendency to withdraw privileges of this kind from the lower ranks of the clergy, and reserve them for the higher, particularly at Rome. The deacon gradually acquired the right of reading the gospel, both in the East and the West, before the end of the fourth century.[1] The subdeacon in like manner acquired the right of reading the epistle in the West; certainly by the eighth century at Rome, probably earlier. But he was never able to deprive the reader entirely of this right, as the deacon did of that of reading the gospel.

In the eighth century the proclamation of silence before the reading of the Scripture lessons had gone out of use at the solemn mass at Rome; but originally it had obtained. Even then, however, it was kept up at the ceremony called *in aurium apertionem*, in the preparation for baptism.[2] Then, before the Old Testament lesson, from Isaiah, the deacon called out *Signate illos, state cum disciplina et cum silentio*; and before each of the gospels: *State cum silentio, audientes intente!*

In *Ordo I* no rule is given for the deacon when reading the gospel to turn in any particular direction. *Ordo II*, which is a Gallican recension of a Roman *Ordo*, tells the deacon to face the *south*,[3] where the men stand, doubtless with thoughts of 1 Cor. xiv, 35. At a later period the rubrics are unanimous in directing a northward position. Micrologus[4] suggests that the change arose in this way: when there was no deacon, the celebrant read the gospel at the altar, on which the book rested at the north end, and so he apparently turned northwards. The deacons, emulous of their superiors, took to turning in the same direction; and by degrees the custom became the rule.

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[1] *Apostolic Constitutions*, Lib. II: cap. lvii, *SS. Patrum qui temporibus apostolicis floruerunt*, edit. J. B. Coteler, Antwerpiae, 1698; vol. i, p. 262. St. Jerome, Epist. xciii.

[2] *Museum Italicum*, ii, 79, 80.

[3] Ipse vero diaconus stat versus ad meridiem ad quam partem viri solent confluere (*Museum Italicum*, ii, 46).

[4] *De missa rite celebranda*, cap. ix.

[*To face page* 77

Ordo Romanus I.]

Where there were two ambos, that on the north was reserved for the gospel, that on the south for the epistle. A reader in turning towards the greater number of persons, would naturally turn more or less southwards in the north ambo, and northwards in the other. Probably this was the original reason for the position of the reader.

The Vigil service and the *Missa Catechumenorum* are in form identical: in fact, the one was the predecessor of the other, at first separated from the *Missa Fidelium* by a greater or lesser interval.[1] And in it we find lessons from Scripture separated by psalms at a very early date. Tertullian, in alluding to this service,[2] says that 'Scriptures are read, Psalms are sung, Sermons are delivered, Prayers are offered up.' Justin Martyr, it is true, does not mention the singing of psalms in the account which we have quoted above of the Sunday vigil and liturgy; but he was not then concerned to give more than a mere outline of the service. In the *Apostolic Constitutions* we are told that the reader is to stand in a high place and read out of the books of the Old Testament, and then after two lessons have been read some other person is to sing the hymns of David, and the people are to join in at the end of the verses: after which the Acts or St. Paul's Epistles are read, and then a deacon or priest reads the gospel.[3] There is, then, no reason to doubt that from the earliest times a psalm was sung between the lessons from Holy Scripture. This psalm was not like the anthems at the entry, the offertory, and the communion—something sung by the choir to occupy the time whilst the rest of the clergy were engaged in doing something else: it was a Scripture lesson itself, sung by one voice alone, from 'a high place,' the ambo, to which the people responded at the end of each verse, a *psalmus responsorius*

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[1] See Dr. J. Wickham Legg's *Three Chapters in Recent Liturgical Research*, Church Historical Society, 1903; pp. 14 *sq.*

[2] Iam vero prout scripturae leguntur aut psalmi canuntur aut adlocutiones proferuntur aut petitiones delegantur (*De Anima*, cap. ix).

[3] *Apostolic Constitutions*, Lib. II: cap. lvii.

distinguished from an antiphon, or psalm sung alternately by two choirs.[1]

In *Ordo II* we are told that the singer alone begins the respond or *psalmus responsorius*, and every one in the quire answers, and the same singer alone sings the verse of the respond.

We may notice that to the last in England the grail preserved a reminiscence of its origin as a Scripture lesson, though much cut down, in the fact that it was sung where the lessons were read, either at the quire-step, or *in pulpito*, according to the day or season.

The method of singing the grail was as follows : it was begun by one of the choir or a collet, and then repeated by the choir ; then the first verse was sung by the solo voice, the grail was again repeated by the choir, and so on for each verse. When there was only one verse to be sung, the solo voice repeated the grail at the end of it, and the choir replied with the same.[2]

The procedure was much the same with regard to the *Alleluia*. The singer sang it through, and the choir repeated it : he then sang the verse, and the choir repeated the *Alleluia*.

Amongst the imitations of the church of Constantinople, wherewith St. Gregory was charged,[3] was that of causing *Alleluia* to be sung in masses out of Eastertide. To which he replied that the custom came from the Church of Jerusalem in the days of Pope Damasus, through St. Jerome, not denying the minor accusation.

St. Austin[4] more than once refers to the custom of

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[1] St. Leo the Great refers to the psalm in Sermo II on the anniversary of his becoming pope: 'Unde et davidicum psalmum, dilectissimi, non ad nostra elationem, sed ad Christi Domini gloriam consona voce cantavimus' (*Opera Omnia*, Venice, 1748; t. i, p. 2).

[2] Compare St. Austin, Sermo cliii: § 1 (506): 'Audivimus, concorditerque respondimus, et Deo nostro consona voce cantavimus, *Beatus vir*' (Ps. xciii, 12).

[3] See his letter given at length on p. 68.

[4] *e.g. In Ps.* xli *Enarr.*, II: § 24; *Opera*, Antwerpiae, 1700; t. iv, col. 74. *In Ps.* cvi *Enarr.*, § 1; iv, 903. *In Ps.* cxlviii *Enarr.*, § 1; iv, 1246. Sermo 252: cap. ix; v, 726.

singing *Alleluia* in Eastertide. 'The days are come to sing *Alleluia*,' he says in one of his Easter day sermons; and he goes on to tell the people that the 'fifty days after the Lord's Resurrection, during which we sing *Alleluia*,' signify eternity. Sozomen,[1] in the next century, asserts that at Rome *Alleluia* was only sung once a year, on Easter day: and so many Romans were accustomed to swear by the fact of having heard or sung this hymn. It is fairly certain, however, that he was in error:[2] possibly mistaking the meaning of the expression *Pascha*, which might mean either the one day, or the whole season of fifty days; and being informed that the Romans only used *Alleluia* in *Pascha*, concluded that it meant Easter day only.

At one time the Romans sang *Alleluia* at funerals, as we learn from a letter written by St. Jerome[3] to Oceanus on the death of Fabiola: whose fame 'gathered together the whole population of the city to her funerals. Psalms were sounded, and Alleluia shook the golden roofs of the temples, and re-echoed from on high.'

St. Gregory, then, extended the custom of singing *Alleluia* during the whole of Eastertide to the rest of the year, except of course to Lent and masses for the departed.

§ vi. *The Sermon.*

After the lessons from Holy Scripture, Justin Martyr says that the bishop preached a sermon on them. But preaching during mass disappeared from the Roman liturgy at an early period. Sozomen,[4] writing in the second quarter of the fifth century, says that in Rome,

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[1] Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Lib. VII: cap. xix.

[2] John the Roman Deacon, at the beginning of the sixth century, writing to Senarius, § xiii, says: 'Sive enim usque ad Pentecosten *Alleluia* cantatur, quod apud nos fieri manifestum est; sive alibi toto anno dicitur, laudes Dei cantat Ecclesia' (Migne, *P.L.*, lix, 406).

[3] Ep. 77: § 11: Migne, *P.L.*, xxii, 697.

[4] Sozomen, *Hist. Eccles.*, Lib. VII: cap. xix.

'neither the bishop nor any one else teaches the people.' St. Leo (θ 461) has left a few short sermons for certain special feasts, and St. Gregory the Great (θ 604) a good many more: we do not know whether any other popes ever preached, up to the times which we are considering; but at any rate we have none of their sermons, nor any mention of their having done so. The lesser clergy were not allowed to preach, and the popes did not approve of such permission being granted by other bishops to their presbyters and others. They seem to have thought that the best way to prevent heresy from invading the Church was to stop preaching altogether, and then no one could publicly teach anything contrary to the Faith.[1]

§ vii. *The Creed.*

The creed was neither sung nor said during mass at Rome until the time of Benedict VIII (1012–1024). Berno, abbot of Reichenau, relates[2] that the emperor, Henry II, inquired in his presence of the Romans why they never recited the creed after the gospel; and that he heard them reply that they did not do so as the Church of Rome had not been infected by any taint of heresy, and therefore that they did not need to recite it. But the emperor did not desist until he had obtained the consent of the pope to have the creed sung at public mass. 'But whether they still keep up this custom we cannot affirm, because we are not sure.'

Some writers have thought that Leo III introduced this practice, because in 809 he told the ambassadors of Charles the Great[3] that he had given permission indeed

[1] Twenty-first Epistle of Celestine, to the bishops of Gaul, 423 (Migne, *P.L.*, t. 50, col. 529).

[2] Berno, *De quibusdam rebus ad missae officium spectantibus libellus*, cap. ii, in J. Cochlaeus, *Speculum Missae*, Venetiis, 1572; fol. 166. St. Austin tells the catechumens that the creed was *not* heard daily, in Sermo lviii: c. xi (*Opera*, Antwerpiae, 1700: t. v, col. 239).

[3] Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, anno 809, num. 60.

for singing it, but not for adding to it or taking from it (alluding to the introduction of the *Filioque* clause). 'We, however, do not sing it, but read it, and in reading teach,' he says again ; and he goes on to advise that the practice of singing it be given up gradually, 'because in our Church it is not sung.' Leo was referring not to ordinary masses, but to the recitation of the creed, which was done in Greek and in Latin at the third scrutiny before solemn baptism. The VIIth Roman *Ordo*, giving the baptismal rites and ceremonies of the ninth century, describes the mode of reciting it in Greek by the word *decantando*, but in Latin by *dicit*.[1]

As evidence of the feeling of reserve, which prevented any public use of the creed for so long, the intention of Sozomen [2] to transcribe that of Nicaea for his History may be instanced. He was dissuaded from so doing by godly and learned friends, who represented to him that such matters ought to be kept secret, only for disciples and their instructors ; and probably his book would fall into the hands of the unlearned.

§ viii. *The Dismissals.*

After the mass of the catechumens, the deacon formally dismissed them. But by the time *Ordo I* was cast in the form in which we now have it, the formal dismissal had dropped out of the ordinary public masses with the decline of public discipline, and was only used on the days of scrutinies. On Wednesday in the third week of Lent, the catechumens were called into the church, at which the stational mass was held, after the celebrant had finished the collect, the exorcisms were pronounced, and the lesson was read, followed by the singing of the grail. Then the deacon [3] dismissed them : *Let the catechumens depart! Whoever is a catechumen, let him depart! Let all the*

[1] *Museum Italicum*, ii, 81.
[2] Sozomen, *Hist. Eccles* , Lib. I: cap. xx.
[3] *Museum Italicum*, ii, 79, 81.

catechumens go out of doors! The same took place on the following Saturday at another church. In the fourth week another scrutiny was held, and the catechumens were formally instructed in the gospels, the creed, and the Lord's prayer; after which they were dismissed in the same manner as above. At the seventh scrutiny, on Easter Even, they were dismissed[1] by the archdeacon after various ceremonies; there being added to the formula given above the words, *awaiting the hour when the grace of God can administer baptism to you.*

In St. Gregory's days, however, the dismissal had not disappeared, but its formulary had changed to suit the altered circumstances: or rather, only the dismissal of the penitents survived. He tells a story[2] of some nuns who died excommunicate (their sin had been incontinence of the tongue): 'And when the solemnities of mass were being celebrated in the same church [in which they were buried] and the deacon as usual cried out, *If any do not communicate, let them make room*, their foster-mother, who was accustomed to offer an oblation to the Lord for them, used to see them come out of their graves and depart from the church.'

§ ix. *The Offertory.*

We now come to the offertory, in the ceremonies of which begins the first exercise of the Christian priesthood in the liturgy. St. Peter[3] tells us that the body of baptized Christians is a βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα, a royal priesthood; for, having been cleansed from sin in baptism and strengthened by the gift of the Holy Ghost in confirmation, they are thereby made members of the one true Priest and partake of His priesthood. Observe, however, that the apostle does not say that they are royal

[1] *Museum Italicum*, ii, 82.

[2] *Dialogorum Liber II*: cap. 23: *Opera*, t. ii, 253. Note that the people are said to offer the oblation.

[3] 1 Peter, II, 9.

priests, but a royal priesthood. This priesthood belongs to them, therefore, in a corporate capacity. But where there is a priesthood, there is also a sacrifice. The sacrifice which Christ offered was himself, once for all on the altar of the Cross, for the sins of the whole world; and this sacrifice he continues to plead, ever living to make intercession for us, before the Eternal Father.

So they, too, who share in this priesthood offer sacrifice. And since the one great oblation, the full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, to which nothing can be added, and which cannot be repeated, has already been offered, this sacrifice of the royal Christian priesthood must be not merely a memorial of, but also in some sense identical with, the sacrifice offered upon the cross, which Christ is ever pleading. There can be no other sacrifice. And if the sacrifice is the same, that which is offered is the same also: in other words, the Heavenly Victim is himself really and truly present therein.

There are two parts in the Eucharistic Sacrifice: first, the offering, for his remembrance, and secondly the sacrificial communion, partaken of by all those who have offered.

In the Christian priesthood there are three distinct grades or ranks: layfolk, deacons, and priests (including in the latter both ordinary presbyters, and those highly specialized whom we generally term bishops). Their functions in offering are distinct, but complementary. Layfolk bring and offer to God of the gifts which he has bestowed upon mankind, the materials for the sacrifice —bread, and wine and water. This ceremony is called the *Offertory*. Probably at first the offerings were of wheat or flour, and grapes, but we have no direct evidence of this;[1] it would, however, illuminate if not explain a number of passages in early writers if such had been the

[1] In the Liturgy of the Nestorians the loaves are prepared before the service from fine flour, olive oil, and warm water (Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Oxford, 1896; pp. 247 *sq.*).

case. Thus, St. Ignatius[1] writes to the Romans: 'The wheat of God am I; and by the teeth of wild beasts am I ground, that I may be found the pure bread of Christ.' More plainly the author of the *Doctrine of the Apostles*:[2] 'As this broken bread was once scattered upon the mountains, and being gathered together became one, so let thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the world into thy kingdom.' St. Cyprian of Carthage[3] in the middle of the third century writes: 'In which very sacrament also our people are shown as united; so that as many grains collected together and ground and kneaded together make one loaf, so in Christ, who is the heavenly Loaf, we may know there to be one Body to which our number is conjoined and united.' And again:[4] 'For when the Lord calls a loaf, formed by the union of many grains, his Body, he indicates his people, whom he bore, as being united; and when he terms wine, pressed from a number of bunches of grapes and blended in one, his Blood, he also signifies one flock linked together by the mingling of a united multitude.'

St. Austin more than once develops this idea at some length. Thus, in one of his sermons to the newly baptized on Easter day, he says:

> 'It is shown to you in that loaf how ye ought to love unity. For is this loaf made of a single grain? Are there not many grains of wheat in it? But before they came to that loaf they were separate: by water they have been joined after a certain grinding. For unless the wheat be ground and moistened with water, it never comes to that form which is called bread. So ye too have been, as it were, ground beforehand with the humiliation of fasting and the sacrament of exorcism. Baptism approaches, and water: ye were, so to speak, moistened in order that ye might come to the form of bread. But it is not yet bread without fire. What then does the fire signify? It is the Chrism. For the oil

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[1] *Ad Romanos*, iv: *Patrum Apostolicorum*, edit. W. Jacobson, Oxonii, 1863; t. ii, p. 393.

[2] *Didache*, IX: 4: edit. Lightfoot and Harmer, 1893; p. 221.

[3] Epist. 63: n. 10 (Caecilii Cypriani *Opera*, Oxonii, 1682; 154).

[4] Epist. 69: n. 4 (*Ibid.*, 182).

of our fire is the sacrament of the Holy Ghost. . . . The Holy Ghost approaches then, after water fire; and ye are made bread, which is the body of Christ. And so in a way unity is signified.'[1]

In another sermon he says:

'When ye were made known as catechumens, ye were stored in the granary. Ye were given your names: ye began to be ground by fastings and exorcisms. Later on ye came to water, and were moistened, and were made one: when the heat of the Holy Ghost approached ye were baked, and became the Lord's loaf. See what ye have received,'[2] and so on.

The so-called Apostolic Canons[3] witness that at the end of the fourth century it was customary in some places still to offer corn and grapes at the altar; as firstfruits, however, and not as materials of the Sacrifice.

But if it had been the original practice to offer wheat and grapes, it is obvious that the offerings could not have been used in the same service at which they were offered; and moreover, grapes were not obtainable all the year round. Consequently, the more convenient custom of offering bread and wine must have soon displaced the other, supposing it to have existed, which is not certain. In the fourth century[4] loaves and probably flasks of wine were offered by the people, and so it continued at the time of *Ordo I.* The elements to be consecrated were selected from the general offerings. St. Cyprian[5] refers to this in his tract *On Work and Alms*, § 12, in the course

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[1] Sermo 227: *Opera Omnia*, Antwerpiae, 1700; t. v, col. 678.

[2] Sermo 229: *Ibid.*, 680. Cnf. his epistle to Boniface, cap. x: § 50: 'Unus enim panis sacramentum est unitatis; quoniam sicut Apostolus dicit, *unus panis, unum corpus, multi sumus*' (*Ibid.*, t. ii, col. 504).

[3] Canon III. The Nestorians still prepare the oblation from fine flour, olive oil, water, and leaven before the mass (Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 247 *sq.*).

[4] One may gather this from the letter of Innocent I to Decentius, 416, cap. ii: § 5 (Migne, *P.L.*, xx, 554). St. Jerome, Ep. 43, writing to Pope Damasus, says: 'Anathematis mucrone censent esse feriendos, qui in usu laicorum panes oblationem contulerint: quia omnino sacerdotalibus solis debentur' (*P.L.*, xxx, 292).

[5] Cypriani *Opera*, Oxonii, 1682; p. 203.

of a rebuke to wealthy matrons who communicated without themselves offering: 'Wealthy and rich art thou, and thinkest thou to celebrate the Lord's ordinance who dost not regard the oblation; who comest into the Church without a sacrifice; who takest a part of the sacrifice which a poor man has offered?' St. Austin,[1] too, in writing of the taking on of our flesh and its offering in the person of and by Christ, says: '[Christ] takes from thee what he would offer for thee; just as the priest (*sacerdos*) takes from thee what he offers for thee when thou wishest to appease God for thy sins.'

Theodore archbishop of Canterbury states (668–690) that women were allowed to offer amongst the Greeks, but not amongst the Romans.[2] However, *Ordo I* certainly contradicts him in this, as does St. Gregory the Great; and in Africa St. Cyprian.

The preparation of the offering and its presentation belongs to the deacons, as their peculiar share in the royal priesthood. Some have seen an allusion to this duty in St. Paul's Epistle to the Colossians,[3] wherein he tells them that Christ's body is the Church, whereof he has been made a deacon (διάκονος), to fulfil the word of God, *that is*, the mystery concealed from the ages and from generations, and his purpose as such is to present every man perfect in Christ Jesus. St. Ignatius[4] describes deacons as 'being ministers of the mysteries of Jesus Christ,' in his Epistle to the Trallians.

The purpose of this preparation is to make the offering representative of the Church united in herself as one body, and conjoined and united to Christ her Head. The deacons, then, selected a certain number of the loaves and set them in rows upon the altar, and mixed a little water with the wine. With the large number of offerers and communicants the altar was, as it were, 'loaded with

[1] St. Austin, *Enarratio in Ps.* cxxix: § 7; *Opera*, iv, 1091.
[2] *Poenit.*, Lib. II: cap. vii: n. 4; Haddon and Stubbs, *Councils*, iii, 196.
[3] Coloss. i, 24, 25, 26, 28.
[4] Cap. ii: *Patr. Apost.*, Oxonii, 1863; t. ii, 357.

loaves'—an expression which we find in some of the ancient prayers[1] appointed for use after the offertory, and called either *Secreta* or *Super Oblata.*

The bread that was offered was in the form of solid loaves, which the author of the Life of Zephyrinus (203–221) in the *Liber Pontificalis*, and St. Gregory the Great describe as *coronae*, crowns.[2] The anonymous author of the treatise *De Sacramentis* (who wrote, according to Duchesne,[3] somewhere in the north of Italy, perhaps at Ravenna, about the year 400) describes the bread as *usitatus*, in common use.[4] A story told in the Life of St. Gregory points to the same conclusion.[5] A certain noble lady of Rome laughed when the Saint was about to communicate her one day at a stational mass; and when afterwards asked the reason, said: 'I recognized the fragment to be of the same oblation-loaf which I made myself with my own hands and offered to you; and when I understood you to call it the Lord's Body, I smiled.'

The Offering of the Church must always be a pure offering; and hence those who were known to be in a state of sin were debarred from offering until they had

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[1] In the Leonine Sacramentary: 'Tua Domine muneribus altaria cumulamus' (edit. Feltoe, Cambridge, 1896; p. 29. Also in Gregorian Sacramentary for the Nativity of St. John Baptist: and *Ibid.*, 148). In the Gregorian Sacramentary for Vigil of All Saints: 'Altare tuum Domine Deus muneribus cumulamus oblatis.'

[2] Tunc duas secum oblationum coronas detulit (*Dialogorum Liber IV*: cap. lv; *Opera*, ii, 464).

[3] *Origines du culte Chrétien*, 169.

[4] Lib. iv. cap. 4: 'Tu forte dicis: meus panis est usitatus. Sed panis iste est ante verba sacramentorum: ubi accesserit consecratio, de pane fit caro Christi.'

[5] St. Gregorii Magni, *Opera*, Parisiis, 1705; iv, 10, 58. In the crypt of St. Cornelius is a very early fresco, figured in Rossi's *La Roma Sotterranea*, t. i, tav. viii, in which are represented two fish (symbols of our Lord): each carries on his back a basket full of round flattened loaves, and in the midst can be made out a vessel containing red wine, most probably representing the bread and wine of the Eucharist. We are reminded of St. Jerome's remark (Epist. xcv, *ad Rusticum*) that 'none is richer than he who carries the Body of the Lord in a wicker-basket, his Blood in a glass vessel.'

been restored to the body of the faithful.[1] This feeling lasted long after penitents had been allowed to communicate before their term of penance was over; they might communicate, but no offering was accepted from them.[2]

§ x. *The Offertory Anthem.*

Walafrid Strabo (c. 840) states that we do not clearly read who it was that introduced either the anthem at the offertory, or that at the communion; but in his opinion it was the ancient custom to offer and communicate in silence, as was still done on Easter Even.[3] St. Austin tells us that one Hilary, a catholic layman of tribunal rank, was annoyed at a custom which at that time had begun to obtain in Carthage, that hymns should be said at the altar from the book of Psalms, both before the oblation and when that which had been offered was distributed to the people; and apparently expressed his disapproval in no measured terms.[4] St. Austin, by general request, was deputed to answer him; but his defence of the practice has not come down to us.

Originally the offertory-anthem was antiphonal and not responsorial; that is to say, it was performed by two semi-choirs and not by a solo voice and chorus. It is generally considered that by the time of *Ordo I* it had come to be sung by solo voice and chorus: thus the anthem was begun by the choir, and sung through, then the solo voice sang the first verse of the psalm, after which the choir repeated the anthem; and so on for each verse.

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[1] Council of Elvira, can. 28. *Apostolic Constitutions*, Lib. III: cap. iv.

[2] *Poenit. Theod.* in Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, Oxford, 1871; iii, 186. Nicholas I ap. Gratiani, *Decr.*, II: causa xxxiii: quaest. ii: cap. xv. Eugenius III ap. *Decr.* Greg. IX, Lib. V: tit. xvii: cap. ii.

[3] Walafrid Strabo, *De rebus Ecclesiasticis*, c. xxii, near the beginning.

[4] St. Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis Episcopi, *Retractationum Liber II*: c. xi: *Opera*, Antwerpiae, 1700; t. i, col. 33.

§ xi. *The Preface.*

Justin Martyr tells us that, after the offertory, the bishop offered 'prayers and thanksgivings to the best of his ability.' Just before, he describes these as 'sending up praise and glory to the Father of the universe,' and as 'a lengthened thanksgiving.' It appears from this that the long Eucharistic Prayer, whereby the oblations become that of which before they were but a mystic representation, namely, the Body and Blood of Christ, was not a fixed form in the second century. We might gather the same from a consideration of the number of different anaphoras in the Eastern, and the great variety of prefaces in the Western rites.[1] Had there been a fixed form handed down from apostolic times, we may be sure that no variations would have been allowed.

In the Leonine Sacramentary, for instance, we find more than one preface for many days, and the internal evidence shows that individual presbyters had considerable latitude in composing prefaces, even to the extent of allowing their personal feelings to colour their public prayers. Their liberty degenerated into license when they declaimed, in this portion of the mass, against bad monks, against false brethren who penetrate into houses and lead silly women captive, false confessors mingled with the true, and so on. As time went on, the number of prefaces was steadily curtailed, until by the end of the twelfth century we find only ten in use.

But with all the liberty of improvisation which was allowed in the early ages of the Church, we find that there was a certain fixed outline, with definite fixed points to which every priest recurred. To begin with, there was the preliminary invitation to the people to lift up their hearts and give thanks to God, and the priest generally

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[1] Compare too the story of the woman who pretended to consecrate the Eucharist *invocatione non contemptibili* in St. Firmilian's letter to St. Cyprian, cap. 10 (given amongst St. Cyrian's letters [Ep. 75] in *Opera*, Oxonii, 1682; pt. ii, 223).

took up the words of their second response, *It is meet and right*, and began the eucharistic preface with them in more or less developed form. At the end of this, he always worked round to some acknowledgment of the angels' worship of the Most High and our participation in it, joining with them in singing the seraphic hymn, *Holy, holy, holy*, etc. In most liturgies the celebrant again takes up what the people sing, this time the *Sanctus*, and develops it at more or less length, leading finally to a commemoration of the institution of this Sacrament, of the Passion, the Resurrection, and the Ascension, concluding with some prayer that the Holy Spirit may change the offering into the Body and Blood of Christ. Some intercession for the living and the dead was included as well, if it had not been offered at an earlier moment.

The seraphic hymn was brought into use at a very early period. St. Sixtus (107–116) is credited with having introduced it into the Church at Rome. Tertullian seems to allude to it in his tract, *De Oratione*.[1]

§ xii. *Sanctus and Benedictus.*

After the pope has finished the preface, the choir then sing the angelical hymn, *i.e.* the *Sanctus*. The words, which are common to all liturgies (with small variations) except the Anaphora of the Ethiopic Church Ordinances,[2] are adapted from Isaiah vi, 3 ; where we read that the Seraphim cried unto one another and said, *Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of Hosts ; the whole earth is full of His glory.* The name 'the angelical hymn' implies that the anthem *Benedictus* with its Hosannas had not yet attached itself to it ; and this is made more sure because, in the Gallicanized recension of this *Ordo*, printed by Mabillon as *Ordo*

[1] See Appendix IV, p. 184.

[2] F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Oxford, 1896; vol. i, pp. 189 *sq.*

Romanus II, there is added to this passage[1] the phrase, 'in which *Hosanna* is twice repeated.'

It is evident upon examination of all liturgies, Eastern or Western, that the verse of the psalm, wherewith the populace of Jerusalem saluted our Lord on the first Palm Sunday, is here an interpolation of comparatively late date. In those of the Egyptian rite,[2] and in that of the 'Apostolic Constitutions,'[3] it does not appear at this liturgical moment at all; and in other liturgies wherein it does here appear, it is not an original constituent of the form, for the post-sanctus eucharistic prayer ignores it entirely (with a very few exceptions and those of comparatively late date), and begins by taking up the words of the seraphic hymn, and developing them at greater or less length. Moreover, with the exception of *Benedictus* (and, in the West, of *Agnus Dei*, which was brought in c. 700) all the prayers and hymns of early rites are addressed solely to God the Father, or to the Holy Trinity, and not to the Second Person alone.[4]

In the account given by 'St. Silvia of Aquitaine' (385–388) of the procession on Palm Sunday as she saw it at Jerusalem, we meet with a curious use of the anthem *Benedictus*. About eleven o'clock at night, after reading on Mount Olivet the gospel account of our Lord's entry into Jerusalem,

> 'the Bishop arises, and all the people depart, every one on foot, from the top of Mount Olivet. And all the people go before him with hymns and anthems, crying continually: *Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.* And every child in the place (even down to those who by reason of their tender age cannot walk on their feet, but are carried on their parents' shoulders) carries branches, some of palms, some of olive: and

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[1] *Museum Italicum*, ii, 47–8.

[2] F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Oxford, 1896; vol. i, pp. 132, 176, 231.

[3] *Ibid.*, 18–19.

[4] Can. 23 of the third Council of Carthage: '*Ut nemo in precibus vel Patrem pro Filio, vel Filium pro Patre nominet. Et cum altare assistitur, semper ad Patrem dirigatur oratio.*' This is borne out by the Roman canon, and the collects of that rite.

thus the Bishop is brought in triumph, in a way typical of the manner in which our Lord was then led.'[1]

The same greeting appears in her account of the midnight mass on the Epiphany,[2] apparently sung in the procession back to Jerusalem. At Jerusalem, then, at the latter part of the fourth century, *Benedictus* was used to greet the bishop, who (for the time) represented our Lord. It probably was not, however, used in the Liturgy after *Sanctus*, for St. Cyril of Jerusalem in 348, not only makes no mention of it in his Catechetical Lectures, but like *Ordo I*, refers the hymn to the angels.[3]

In the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, as now used, the *Eisodikón*, or anthem sung at the Little Entrance—which is the point at which the bishop first intervenes in the service—begins on the Epiphany and Palm Sunday with the words, *Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. God is the Lord, and hath appeared to us*, etc.[4] A little further on, after the Trisagion, the celebrant and the deacon go towards the throne; and on the way the former says, *Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.*[5]

Then, on the Epiphany, the reader says for the *Prokeimenon* of the Apostle (*i. e.* a short anthem before the epistle), *Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.*[6] After the consecration is over and the clergy have communicated, the deacon comes to the opened doors of the bema, and shows the chalice to the people, saying: *With the fear of God, faith and love, approach!* and then the choir sing: *Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. God is the Lord, and hath appeared to us.*[7]

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[1] *S. Silvae Aquitanae Peregrinatio aa loca sancta*, edit. J. F. Gamurrini, Romae, 1888; pp. 59–60.

[2] *Ibid.*, 51.

[3] 'We make mention also of the Seraphim . . . who cried *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Sabaoth.* For the same cause rehearse we this confession of God, delivered down to us from the Seraphim, that we may join in hymns with the hosts above' (Lecture XXIII, *On the Mysteries*, v: § 6 [5]).

[4] Brightman, *op. cit.*, 368.

[5] *Ibid.*, 370.

[6] *Ibid.*, 371.

[7] *Ibid.*, 396.

When the paten is brought down to communicate the women, the deacon, in the Liturgy of the Coptic Jacobites, says *Benedictus*, without *Hosanna*.[1]

In some churches, and on some days, amongst the Armenians, at the Great Entrance, after the celebrant receives the gifts from the hands of the deacons, he makes the sign of the cross with them towards the people, saying: *Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord*, and the clerks reply: *Alleluia*.[2]

When Charles the Great visited Rome in the time of Pope Hadrian, he was received in full state, and escorted to the basilica of St. Peter by the Pope and his Court.

> 'And so they entered into the same venerable court of blessed Peter the prince of the apostles, the whole clergy and all the religious servants of God singing praise to God and to his Excellency, crying out with a loud voice, *Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord*.'[3]

And, some years later, his successor Ludwig was received in like manner, and greeted with the same anthem,[4] when he visited Sergius II.

Pope Stephen is said to have ordered all the inhabitants of Paris to meet Pippin and Karlomann with flowers and branches of palm, when they brought back the supposed relics of SS. Benedict and Scholastica: and they received them in that fashion, crying out, *Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord*.[5] With which we may compare the account which St. Gregory of Tours gives of the dedication of the oratory, wherein the relics of SS. Saturninus, Martin, Illidius, and others were placed. As they were about to enter the church with the relics, a terrific flash of lightning occurred, which St. Gregory at once interpreted as a manifestation of St. Martin's power and presence. They all thereupon magnified God, saying, *Blessed is he*

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[1] Brightman, *op. cit.*, 186.
[2] *Ibid.*, 432.
[3] Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, i, 497.
[4] *Ibid.*, ii, 88.
[5] *Epitome Chron. Casinens.*, *ap.* Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, Milan, 1726; t. ii, 260 D.

that cometh in the name of the Lord. God is Lord, and hath enlightened us.[1]

Upon a consideration of the instances of the use of *Benedictus* given above, it seems possible that the anthem was at first used, without its Hosannas, as a greeting of the bishop in the solemn procession on Palm Sunday and on the Epiphany, when he typified our Lord. Some such idea prevailed in a modified form at Rome in the eighth and ninth centuries, where *Benedictus* was sung as a greeting to the emperors; and in Paris, where it was used in the like manner at the reception of the relics of SS. Benedict and Scholastica, unless perhaps it was sung for the sake of the play on the name, Benedict. Such, too, would be the explanation of its use as the *Eisodikón* for Epiphany and Palm Sunday at Constantinople: the anthem was there originally a greeting of the bishop on his first intervention in the service: such, again, might explain its use, just as the bishop is about to come forth out of the Holy Place in order to communicate the people, in the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, and the similar instance in the Liturgy of the Coptic Jacobites.

If this was so, the intention of the anthem afterwards passed from the bishop who was bringing out the Eucharist, to the Eucharist itself, by a natural and easy transition; and when that happened the verse of the psalm was sometimes augmented by what followed, so that they sang in addition *God is the Lord, and hath appeared to us;* and sometimes by the twofold Hosannas.

In the neighbourhood of Antioch about the year 375 the *Benedictus* anthem was referred to the Eucharist, when the bishop came out to communicate the people, and called out *Sancta sanctis.* The people are directed to respond with *One holy, one Lord Jesus Christ, to the glory of God the Father, blessed for ever. Amen. Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, towards men of good-will. Hosanna*

[1] St. Gregorii Turonensis, *Liber de Gloria Confessorum*, cap. xx; Migne, *P.L.*, lxxi, 843.

to the Son of David. Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. God is Lord, and hath appeared unto us. Hosanna in the highest. The compiler of this liturgy, the so-called Clementine, evidently wished the whole response to be referred to our Lord, as present in the Eucharist.[1] But whether he here represents current Church opinion or not is another matter. In working up material for his liturgy, he dealt most freely with it; and the prayers in particular are substantially his own work.[2] Hence it is probable that this response is his own composition also. It almost seems as though the compiler wished to alter a prevailing idea of the use of *Benedictus* as a welcome to the bishop, and to divert its intention to the Eucharist, accentuating this idea by the addition of the people's cry to our Lord, *Hosanna;* by the angels' Christmas song *Glory to God;* and by the direct apostrophe in the beginning. Furthermore, there is no evidence, and very little probability, that the Liturgy of the 'Apostolic Constitutions' was ever used anywhere or at any time.

When the intention of *Benedictus* was directed towards the Eucharist, we can understand the singing of it just after the consecration. After a while it would seem that the time of singing it was shifted further back until, with its Hosannas, it became appended to the *Sanctus.* Then came a change. *Benedictus* with the second *Hosanna* was shifted forwards again to the elevation in the West and the corresponding moment in the East, as a greeting to our Lord in the Eucharist, where at the present time it remains in actual practice.

Of the date when Rome first adopted this anthem, nothing is clear: the silence of Micrologus in the eleventh century hardly helps the question one way or the other; but probably it was absorbed together with other Gallicanisms in the course of the eleventh century.

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[1] Brightman, *op. cit.*, 24.

[2] *Ibid.*, xxxiii xliii.

§ xiii. *The Canon.*

The most satisfactory theory of the origin of the Roman canon, which St. Gregory tells us was composed by some learned man, is that propounded by Mr. Edward Burbidge.[1] After showing that the original liturgy of Rome was in Greek, and that in the middle of the fourth century there is every reason to believe that a Latin liturgy existed alongside the Greek, he goes on to suggest that in the time of Pope Damasus there was a compromise effected between the two sections of the Church, which resulted in the Latin tongue prevailing over the Greek, and the Greek form (to some extent) over the Latin.

He then goes on to point out the 'Gallican' features of the canon: its beginning with the word *Te*, and having a certain diffuseness as compared with genuine Roman prayers. Then adducing parallels to the various sections of the canon, he shows that they resemble the variable prayers of the Gallican uses, from the second to the sixth, particularly those of the Mozarabic rite: and concludes with the following propositions: (i) That the canon was formed out of older Latin prayers, which belonged to a variable order of service of the Gallican type: (ii) That these prayers were put together in one fixed form to suit the customs of the Greek section of the Church at Rome, and unite it with the Latin when this had become the larger section: (iii) That it thus gained the name of *The Canon*, as being the accepted rule of service, in place of the unchanging Greek and the variable Latin forms previously in use: (iv) That the double reference to the saints was caused by the attempt to satisfy both those who were accustomed to begin with prayers for the Church, and those who were accustomed to end with them: (v) That the repetitions of the phrase *Per Christum Dominum nostrum* show the old divisions of the prayers.

It must not be supposed that we can find all the sections

[1] In *The Guardian* of 24 March, 1897.

of the Roman canon amongst Gallican prayers; but Mr. Burbidge has shown that the contents of the ancient prayers of the Gallican rite entitled (1) *Alia*, (2) *Post Nomina*, (3) *Ad Pacem*, (4) *Post Sanctus*, and (5) *Post Pridie*, correspond in general character with the sections of the canon beginning (1) *Te igitur*, (2) *Communicantes*, (3) *Hanc igitur*, (4) *Quam oblationem*, and (5) *Unde et memores*. The clause *Per quem haec omnia* represents the fixed ending of the Gallican *Post pridie* prayer, and *Per ipsum* is taken from the Greek liturgy.

The Roman canon has not been put together very well: there is considerable awkwardness about the second and fourth sections, and again from the *Per quem* clause to the end. Mr. Burbidge's theory at any rate explains how this arose. It also explains the appearance of *Per quem haec omnia*, a clause that has given rise to a considerable amount of discussion for several centuries. The older view, and one sanctioned by the authority of Duchesne, is that it represented the end of a blessing of the fruits of the earth; and it actually had that position when such a form was used, as on Ascension day, when new beans, and on St. Sixtus when the new grapes, were blessed, on Maundy Thursday when the oil for the sick, and on Easter Even and Whitsun Eve when the honey and milk for the neophytes were blessed. Whether Duchesne's statement, that there is no doubt that this formula was originally preceded even under ordinary circumstances by a prayer for the good things of the earth, can be sustained, is not quite so certain, having in mind the plain likeness between the *Per quem* clause of the canon, and the fixed ending of the Mozarabic *Post pridie* prayer. Nevertheless, it is possible that the Roman ritualists, when they compiled the canon, may have taken over this ending and adapted it to a series of benedictions of fruits of the earth, deeming the phraseology unsuitable to be applied (as it undoubtedly is in the Mozarabic rite) to the Sacrament of the Body and Blood. There is not any real information to guide us, so that we can only speculate as

to what may have taken place; but we do know that on some occasions this clause was attached to the end of such benedictions, and therefore that at the time when this was done the then ritualists preferred to refer those words to fruits of the earth rather than to the Blessed Sacrament.

The earliest allusions to the prayers of the present Roman canon are not earlier than the time of Pope Damasus, during whose reign, on Mr. Burbidge's theory, the amalgamation of the Greek and Latin-speaking members of the Church in Rome took place, with the formation of the fixed anaphora thenceforward known as the canon. There is the evident allusion to the prayer *Supra quae* by the Roman author of the *Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, a contemporary of Damasus.[1] St. Jerome must have had in mind the close of the prayer *Nobis quoque peccatoribus*, which runs *intra quorum nos consortium, non aestimator meriti, sed veniae quaesumus largitor admitte*, when he penned his comment upon the last verse of the seventy-second psalm (lxxiii, 27 in our reckoning): *Per contemplationem enim spei quam in deum habet: sperat se induci in caelestis Hierusalem portis: ad capiscendam futuram beatitudinem cum electis suis. In quorum nos consortium, non meritorum inspector, sed veniae largitor admittat Christus dominus. Amen.*[2]

And in the book *De Sacramentis*, ascribed to St. Ambrose, but written about the year 400, somewhere in northern Italy, where the uses of Rome and Milan were combined, we have large portions of the canon quoted: not quite word for word with the present form, it is true, but still fairly closely. There are two interesting differences. After *Hoc est enim corpus meum*, pseudo-Ambrose adds: *quod pro multis confringetur*: and in the quotation from

[1] Similiter et Spiritus sanctus quasi antistes sacerdos appellatus est excelsi Dei, non summus, sicut nostri in oblatione praesumunt (Migne, *P.L.*, xxxv, 2329). Duchesne observes that he evidently has in mind the phrase *summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech* of the Roman epiclesis (*Origines*, 169).

[2] St. Jerome, *Opera Omnia*, Basileae, 1525; t. viii, fol. 65 *verso*, note *g*.

the epiclesis he has *per manus angelorum tuorum* instead of *per manus sancti angeli tui*.[1]

§ xiv. *The Recital of the Names of the Living.*

St. Cyprian of Carthage, in writing about the restoration of a lapsed person to full communion,[2] says, that 'before the peace of the Church is restored, they are admitted to communion, and their names are offered.' And, later, he writes to some bishops in Numidia, sending them some money collected for the redemption of captives :[3] 'I have subjoined the names of all and sundry, that in your prayers you may remember our brethren and sisters who have so readily and willingly accomplished this needful work, that they may always so do, and that ye may make them a return in sacrifices and prayers for their good deed.'

Innocent I, writing to Decentius in 416, denounces the Gallican custom of 'reading out the names before the bishop (*sacerdos*) says the canon (*faciat precem*), and commends in his own prayer the oblations of those whose names are to be recited ; you yourself must acknowledge how superfluous is the practice, that you should first mention to God, to whom nothing is unknown, the name of one whose host you have not yet offered.' Therefore he directs that first the oblations should be commended, and then the names of those who had offered be read out.[4]

A MS of the ninth century, published by Mabillon, has a rubric in the middle of the *Memento* for the living which runs as follows :[5] *Here shall the names of the living be named, if you should wish it, but not on Sunday, except on certain days.* Florus Magister (c. 835), after telling us that the priest is at liberty to commend to God in this

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[1] Quoted in Duchesne, *Origines*, 170.
[2] Ep. xvi : *Opera*, Oxonii, 1682 ; pt. ii, p. 37.
[3] Ep. lxii : *Opera*, pt. ii, p. 147.
[4] Migne, *P.L.*, xx, 553–4.
[5] *Museum Italicum*, ii, 560.

prayer whom he wishes, goes on to say[1] that 'it was a custom kept by the ancients that the names of those who offered should there be recited.' In the scrutiny-masses of the eighth century the practice was still retained. In the *Memento* the names of the men and women who had brought the children (*i. e.* the god-parents) and offered for them were recited, and in the prayer *Hanc igitur*, the names of the elect, or candidates for baptism.[2] *Ordo I* gives no hint of any such practice. It would seem then that in Rome the oblation of the names of the living was, like that of the names of the dead, omitted on Sundays. But, whereas, as we shall see later, the whole *Memento* for the departed was omitted on Sundays, the only difference on Sundays in the *Memento* for the living was the omission of the recital of the names.

§ xv. *The Memento for the Departed.*

The *Memento* for the departed does not appear in the canon of a large number of early MSS. Amalar of Metz wrote a long commentary on the canon (c. 830), but he passes over this prayer without even mentioning it. Mr. Edmund Bishop[3] points out that this clause is also absent from two other expositions of the mass, printed by Gerbert from a MS of the tenth century. Obviously these omissions require explanation. Mr. Bishop tells us that the terminology of this *Memento* is neither Spanish, French, nor Irish, but Roman : so that we cannot account for its omission on the grounds of its being a late and Gallican addition. He finds the true reason in two tracts on liturgical matters printed by Gerbert. One of these says : 'On weekdays from Monday to Saturday masses for the dead may be said, and the names of the dead are commemorated in the mass ; but such masses are not to

[1] Florus Magister, *De Expositione Missae*, cap. 51 : Migne, *P.L.*, cix, 47.
[2] *Museum Italicum*, ii, 79.
[3] *Journal of Theological Studies*, July 1903 ; vol. iv, pp. 570 *sq.*

be said on Sundays, nor are the names of the dead recited on that day, but only the names of the living.'[1] And the other :[2] 'After *Supplices te rogamus* come two prayers, one *super dipticios* [viz. *Memento . . . pacis*] and the other after the recitation of the names [*Ipsis . . . deprecamur*], and this on weekdays, that is working days, only.' That is, in the Roman rite of the ninth century the *Memento* for the departed was omitted on Sundays, and only said on weekdays.

In the Gallican Church there was a custom of reading out the names of the departed from the diptychs of the dead ; the celebrant prayed for them, and the deacon read out their names. We are often told[3] that 'this rite was also for a long time observed in the public masses of the Church of Rome.' We have seen that the *Memento* for the departed had no place in the public masses of the Church of Rome, at any rate on Sundays. Mr. Bishop,[4] after describing the Gallic customs, goes on to say : 'The Roman method was a complete contrast. When read without preconceived notions, or *parti pris* derived from present practice, the very text of the *Memento* shows that a simple mention of the names as an integral part of the celebrant's prayer is all that is contemplated : *Remember thy servants so-and-so, who have gone before us with the sign of faith.* There is no room here for the diptychs. Nor does there seem anything to bar the conclusion naturally suggested by the documents, that, at least from the date when our present recension A[5] was settled, the names of the dead were commemorated in the canon silently by the celebrant as at present.' Moreover, *Ordo I* 'not only

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[1] *Journal of Theological Studies*, July 1903; vol. iv, pp. 570 *sq.*

[2] *Museum Italicum*, ii, 61.

[3] *E.g.* W. E. Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica*, London, 1876; p. 375. And Florus of Lyons, *Opusculum de Expositione Missae*, in Migne, *P.L.*, cxix, 62.

[4] *Op. cit.*, 575.

[5] By recension A, Mr. Bishop denotes the text of the canon found in the Bobbio Missal or Sacramentary, the Stowe Missal, and the *Missale Francorum*, which give through their combined evidence a text of the Roman canon at the latest of the first years of the seventh century, and probably much earlier.

says nothing of the reading of the diptychs, but describes the recital of the canon in a way which excludes[1] such observance.'

§ xvi. *The Form of Consecration.*

The later medieval view in the Western Church was, as is well known, that the hallowing of the oblation is effected by the recital of the words of institution, *This is my Body: This is my Blood.* In the East it has always been held that this is brought about by the invocation of the Holy Ghost,[2] and so strongly was the stress laid upon this that in the Anaphora of SS. Adai and Mari, which the Nestorians use, there was no recital of the words of institution.[3]

But at an earlier period the oriental view prevailed equally at Rome. Gelasius himself speaks of the hallowing as *Sancto spiritu perficiente*, 'accomplished by the Holy Ghost': [4] and in the African Church a definite invocation or *epiclesis* was in use.[5] And perhaps we may see a trace of the elder Roman view in the fact that after the words of institution in the Roman canon the oblation is described as *panem sanctam*, but still *panem:* both before and after those words the oblation is called spotless (*illabata, immaculatam*), like the offering of Melchizedech. All this precedes the Roman epiclesis, *Supplices te rogamus:*

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[1] We learn from the Life of St. Athanasius, bishop of Naples (872), that the diptychs were read there in the ninth century: 'Ordinavit etiam, ut in ecclesia Salvatoris omni die missa publica cum diptychis celebretur, offerens ibidem terras ex quibus eiusmodi aleretur collegium' (L. A. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, Milan, 1726; t. ii, pars. ii, col. 1046 A).

[2] W. E. Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica*, London, 1876; p. 573. Symeon of Thessalonica in J. M. Neale's *Liturgies of St. Mark, etc.*, London, 1859; p. xxix. This was the Gallican view also.

[3] Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 285.

[4] Gelasius, *De duabus naturis in Christo*, given in M. J. Routh's *Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum opuscula*, Oxonii, 1840; t. ii, p. 139, l. 15. *Cnf.* Gratiani *Decreta*, pars II: caus. i: qu. i: cap. 92.

[5] See the quotations from Optatus, *Contra Parmen.*, Lib. VI; and Fulgentius *Ad Monimum* in W. Palmer's *Origines Liturgicae*, Oxford, 1836; vol. i, p. 138, *note* v.

after which the oblation is always called 'the Body and Blood of our Lord'; as, for example, at the commixture.

§ xvii. *The Sacring.*

At the words *By him and with him*, etc., the archdeacon lifts up the chalice and holds it out towards the pope, who touches the side of the chalice with one of the consecrated loaves until *For ever and ever*. He then sets his loaf down again on the altar, and the archdeacon again replaces the chalice. In connection with this ceremony we must recall the well-known account which St. Ambrose gives of St. Laurence's appeal to St. Sixtus,[1] as he was being led to martyrdom. 'Whither dost thou go without thy son, father? Whither, holy bishop, dost thou hasten without thy deacon? Never wert thou used to offer the sacrifice without a minister. What then has displeased thee in me, father? Hast thou found me wanting? Look to it surely whether thou choosest a suitable minister. To him to whom thou didst commit the consecration of the Lord's Blood, to him to whom thou didst commit the participation in the sacraments to be consummated, to him dost thou deny participation in thy death?' It was by holding up the chalice as described above that the deacon could be said, ministerially, to 'consecrate the Lord's Blood.'

§ xviii. *Pater Noster.*

St. Gregory was accused [2] of having appointed that the Lord's prayer should be said directly after the canon, and

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[1] 'Itaque his verbis appellare coepit: Quo progrederis sine filio, pater? Quo sacerdos sancte sine diacono properas tuo? numquam sacrificium sine ministro offerre consueveras. Quid in me ergo displicuit, pater? num degenerem probasti? experire certe utrum idoneum ministrum eligeris. Cui commisisti Dominici sanguinis consecrationem, cui consummandorum consortium sacramentorum, huic sanguinis tui consortium negas' (St. Ambrosii Ep. Mediol. *De Officiis Clericorum Liber*, I: cap. 41, in *Bibliotheca Patrum Eccles. Latinorum*, Lipsiae, 1839; vol. viii, pp. 87, 88).

[2] See his letter given at length on p. 68.

of following the Church of Constantinople in so doing. What is his answer? He does not deny that he has introduced the custom: 'It seemed to me extremely unsuitable to say the canon over the oblation, which was composed by some *scholasticus*, and not to say over his Body and Blood that prayer which our Redeemer himself composed.' From this we can gather that the Lord's prayer was not used in the Roman rite before the time of St. Gregory the Great at the liturgical moment when we find it in *Ordo I*, that is between the last prayer of the canon and the fraction. More than this: taking his words as they stand, they seem to indicate that it was not used at any time before the communion; if so, it would still be said 'over the Body and Blood.' St. Austin has left it on record[1] that '*almost* the whole Church concludes the canon with the Lord's prayer'; and referring to the use of his own Church of Hippo, he says: 'Behold, when the hallowing is accomplished, we say the Lord's prayer which ye have received and repeated. After it is said *Pax vobiscum*, and Christians salute one another with a holy kiss.' Was the Church of Rome one of the exceptions which St. Austin had in his mind?

In the Gallican Churches the *Pater noster* was recited *after* the fraction, not before: and we find the same in many oriental rites. If the Damasian origin of the canon be the true one, we should naturally expect that that pope would introduce the Lord's prayer in the place in which he had been accustomed to hear it, viz. after the fraction. Now at Rome, if the ceremonial of *Ordo I* obtained in St. Gregory's time, the fraction was a long process, only a small part of which took place at the altar. The pope breaks a small piece off one loaf and leaves it on the altar: the rest of the loaves are speedily removed, put into the collets' sacks, and thus carried to the presbyters, who break the loaves into conveniently small pieces for the communion. The chalice is removed at the same time,

[1] Ep. 149, *Ad Paulinum* (*Opera*, t. ii, col. 386).

and entrusted to a district-subdeacon to hold near by the altar, so that the altar is bared of the sacrifice, except for one small fragment of bread. Consequently it would be admissible, supposing that the *Pater noster* followed the fraction thus conducted, to say that it was not recited over 'the Body and Blood': and, therefore, it may be that what St. Gregory did, was not to bring in the use of the prayer, but to change the liturgical moment at which it was said.

It is more likely, then, that St. Gregory did not actually introduce the custom of saying the Lord's prayer, but altered the time at which it was said. If the Church of Rome had been so singular as not to use it, it is in the highest degree probable that we should have had some allusion to the peculiar custom of so eminent a Church, the most important in the whole of the West; but we have none at all beyond St. Austin's, 'almost the whole Church.' And, indeed, this one allusion to the practice of not using it, is rather against the idea that Rome did not use the *Pater noster;* for its omission by so important a Church would, one may believe, hardly have been passed over so briefly by him.

Unfortunately, argument from silence is not always convincing; a little positive evidence would be far better, but we have none; and so the question whether St. Gregory merely changed the position of *Pater noster*, or actually introduced the custom of saying it after the canon into the Roman mass, remains unsolved.

The Lord's prayer is not appointed to be said at all in the Liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions; in the Egyptian rite it followed the fraction; and according to the Cappadocian fathers of the fourth century it preceded it, as in the Byzantine rite. Consequently the charge was well founded, that St. Gregory was following the practice of the Church of Constantinople in what he had done, whether it was an introduction or a change of position. However, he points out that there was a difference; for amongst the Greeks the Lord's prayer was said by the

whole congregation, but at Rome by the priest alone. In the Gallican church it was recited as amongst the Greeks, by the congregation.

St. Gregory[1] affirms that it was the custom of the apostles to consecrate the oblation solely with the Lord's prayer. Of course, St. Gregory's belief that such was the case is no evidence whatever that it really was so; and it would be very surprising if it were true. He may have meant that the Lord's prayer was the only fixed part of the form which they used; or, more likely, had some passage running through his mind like St. Jerome's statement that our Lord 'taught his Apostles that daily in the Sacrifice of his Body believers should be bold to say, *Our Father*,' etc. St. Jerome[2] wrote this at Bethlehem, c. 415, so that he was most probably referring to the custom of the Church of Jerusalem; perhaps quoting in a free fashion from St. Cyril, who says much the same thing in one of his Catechetical Lectures.[3] St. Jerome's remark can hardly be taken as evidence for the use of the Church of Rome, although we might not unnaturally expect some reference to it here, if the *Pater noster* had not formed part of the Roman mass.

§ xix. *The Sancta and the Fermentum.*

The kindred ceremonies of the *Sancta* and the *Fermentum* are sometimes confused, but they are quite distinct both in origin and intention.

In the former, the pontiff drops into the chalice a fragment of the consecrated bread reserved from a previous day, at the words, *The peace of the Lord be with you alway.* It is a symbol of the unity of the Eucharist in point of time; uniting the communicants with those at the previous solemn mass, and so on back through the ages as long as the ceremony had existed.

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[1] See his letter given on p. 69. [2] St. Jerome, *contra Pelagium*, Lib. III: n. 15.
[3] Lecture XXIII: On the Mysteries, v: § 6.

The latter was similar, but different. When the pope was unable to celebrate solemn mass in person, he sent a fragment of the loaves consecrated by him at some previous mass to the stational church, by the hands of the subdeacon-oblationer ; and the same custom obtained at masses celebrated at the titular churches. This was put into the chalice by the celebrant instead of the *Sancta*, and at the same liturgical moment. It is to this custom that the notice in the Life of Zephyrinus (203-221) refers : the *Liber Pontificalis* tells us that this pope ordained that when he was not present in person, but only by deputy,[1] the mass should not proceed till the presbyter had received from the bishop (*i. e.* the pope) a consecrated *corona* or loaf.[2] The same book tells us that Melchiades (311-314) 'caused that consecrated oblation-loaves should be sent to the churches of that consecrated by the bishop ; which is known as the *Fermentum*, or leaven.' Siricius (385-398) is also recorded to have 'ordained that no presbyter should celebrate masses throughout the week, unless he should receive a certified consecrated [loaf] from the bishop of the place appointed [? for the stational mass],' words which appear to refer to the same practice.

Innocent I, writing to Decentius in 416, says :—

> 'But concerning the *Fermentum*, which we send on Sundays to the titular churches, you wished to consult us superfluously, since all our churches are situate within the city, the presbyters of which being unable to meet together with us on that day, because of the people committed to their care, therefore receive by the hands of collets *Fermentum* consecrated by us, so that they may not appear to be separated from communion with us, specially on that day. I do not, however, think that this should be done for country churches, because the sacraments should not be carried about far (we do not send to the presbyters attached to

[1] In the *Ordo* of St. Amand we learn that the *Mansionarii* or sextons of the titular churches on Easter Even were sent to the Lateran Basilica to fetch the *Fermentum* consecrated by the Pope (Duchesne, *Origines*, 454).

[2] This paraphrase is due to G. M. Tommasi, *Fermenti Expositio*, in *Opera*, Romae, 1754; t. vii, p. 54. But the whole passage is most obscure.

the different cemetery-oratories), and their presbyters have the power and licence to consecrate.'[1]

The *Fermentum* was sent, as we see from these quotations, to symbolize the unity of the Eucharists celebrated at the same time by presbyters in their parish churches, or by the pope's deputy at the stational church, with the pope's Eucharist. As the *Sancta* demonstrated unity in point of time, so the *Fermentum* demonstrated it in point of place. Both set forth the teaching of the Church that all persons offer as the one mystical Body of Christ, a united body at one with itself, and that, as one of our reformers[2] puts it, the virtue of the Eucharistic sacrifice 'doth not only extend itself to the living and those that are present, but likewise to them that are absent, and them that be already departed or shall in time to come live and die in the faith of Christ.'

This note of unity in celebrating one Eucharist in one Church or diocese is strongly emphasized by St. Ignatius. In his epistle to the Ephesians[3] he hopes that they will be united in one faith, in obedience to their bishop and presbyterate with entire affection, and in breaking one Loaf, which is the medicine of immortality. In that to the Philadelphians[4] he urges them to 'endeavour to use one Eucharist. For one is the Flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and one the chalice in the unity of his Blood; one the altar, and one the bishop, with the presbyterate, and the deacons my fellow-servants.' And more plainly still in the epistle to the Smyrnaeans:[5] 'Let no one do any of those matters which pertain to the Church without the bishop. Let that Eucharist be esteemed valid which is either offered by the bishop or by him to whom he has given permission.'

This ceremony of the *Fermentum* was a visible sign, so

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[1] Epist. xxv, ad Decentium ep. Eugubinum (Migne, *P.L.*, xx, 553).

[2] John Cosins, *Works*, Oxford, 1855; vol. v, pp, 352 *sq.*

[3] *Patrum Apostolicorum quae supersunt*, edit. W. Jacobson, Oxonii, 1863; t. ii, p. 320 (cap. xx).

[4] *Ibid.*, 422 (cap. iv).

[5] *Ibid.*, 464 (cap. viii).

long as it lasted, of the unity (and consequent validity) of the Eucharist celebrated by the presbyters of the diocese in various places, with that offered by the bishop.

§ xx. *Agnus Dei.*

The singing of *Agnus Dei* during the fraction was introduced by Pope Sergius I (687–701). At first it seems to have only been sung once, and by clergy and people together. But in *Ordo I* the people's part has disappeared, and in the *Ordo* of St. Amand it is sung by the choir and then by the collets. It is still only sung twice in the *Ordo* of John of Avranches, in the eleventh century.[1] In the twelfth century Beleth[2] says that it is sung twice with the ending *Have mercy upon us*, and a third time with *Grant us thy peace;* but Innocent III tells us that in many churches the ancient custom still obtained of singing it thrice uniformly with *Have mercy upon us*, as was always done in the Lateran.[3] John the Deacon,[4] in the thirteenth century, also tells us that *Grant us thy peace*, was never sung at the Lateran after *O Lamb of God, etc.*[5]

Agnus Dei has never been introduced into the mass of Easter Even, except in the *Ordo Romanus* of Einsiedeln,[6] which also differs from all other *Ordines* in several other respects.

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[1] *De divinis officiis*, cap. xlviii: 'choro *Agnus* bis repetente.'

[2] *Ibid.*, cap. xlviii.

[3] *De sacro altaris mysterio*, Lib. VI: cap. iv: 'Porro secundum consuetudinem antiquam Scholae cantorum, quam adhuc ipsi conservant et in pluribus servatur ecclesiis, ut in Lateranensi nullatenus variatur, sed tribus vicibus uniformiter dicitur *miserere nobis*' (Migne, *P.L.*, ccxvii, 908). Pierre le Brun notes that the Lateran still conserved this ancient custom in his time (*Explication . . . de la messe*, Paris, 1777; t. ii, 578).

[4] *Museum Italicum*, ii, 566.

[5] In the *Ordo* of Benedict, afterwards Celestine II, written in the second quarter of the twelfth century, it is specially noted that at the mass on Maundy Thursday: *Primicerius cum schola cantat Agnus Dei, tribus vicibus miserere nobis* (*Museum Italicum*, ii, 137). It is to be noted that the station on this day was at St. John in the Lateran (*Ibid.*, 547).

[6] Duchesne, *Origines*, 466.

§ xxi. *The Kiss of Peace.*

Justin Martyr tells us that after the people's prayers were over, they saluted one another with a kiss. And then bread, and wine mingled with water were brought in to the president of the brethren. The kiss of peace thus fell between the end of the *missa catechumenorum* and the *missa fidelium*. In the Oriental rites it maintained its position there, as in the Gallican.[1]

In the African Church, as we learn from St. Austin,[2] the Peace fell after the Lord's prayer at the end of the canon: 'After it, *Peace be with you* is said, and Christians salute one another with a holy kiss, which is a sign of peace.' Innocent I in 416 lets us know that the practice at Rome was the same,[3] although elsewhere there was a custom (which he reprobates) of giving the kiss of peace *ante confecta mysteria*, before the offertory most probably, in the Gallican and Oriental way. In *Ordo I* it is still found just before the communion.

§ xxii. *The Words of Administration.*

There is no form of words given in *Ordo I* for use at the administration of the communion. The author of the treatise *De Sacramentis*, at one time ascribed to St. Ambrose,[4] incidentally gives a formula: 'The priest says to thee, *The Body of Christ.*' This represents a North-Italian use, c. 400. In the life of St. Gregory[5] by Paul the Deacon, c. 780, we also incidentally get (§ 23) another formula: 'The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ

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[1] See the references in Brightman's *Eastern Liturgies*, i, 584–5.

[2] Ep. 149, *Ad Paulinum* (*Opera*, t. ii, col. 386).

[3] Ep. 25, *Ad Decentium* (*P.L.*, xx, 553).

[4] 'Dicit tibi sacerdos: *Corpus Christi.* Et tu dicis: *Amen*' (*Liber de Sacramentis IV*, cap. v: § 25).

[5] St. Gregorii Magni, *Opera*, Paris, 1705; iv, 10. This formula is also found in the Missal of M. F. Illyricus (Martène, *De Ant. Eccl. Rit.*, Lib. I: cap. iv: art. xii: ordo iv).

avail unto thee for the remission of all sins and for everlasting life.' But in his life by John the Deacon,[1] c. 875, in the course of relating the same story, we have : 'The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thy soul.'

Whether there was a fixed formula in the eighth century at Rome we cannot say : probably there was not.

§ xxiii. *The Communion of the People.*

St. Austin[2] more than once refers to the fact that the Eucharist was put into the hands of the communicant. Two centuries later, we find that at Rome the custom was to place it in the mouth of the receiver : at least, we are entitled to gather that this was so from the story of Agapitus, which St. Gregory[3] tells in his *Dialogues*, about a deaf mute whose tongue was loosened when the saint put the Lord's Body into his mouth.

At the time of *Ordo I* the people, and perhaps everybody, were communicated with the Sacrament of the Blood through a thin tube, called *pugillaris*, made sometimes of silver, sometimes of gold. At a later date the pope generally used a similar instrument at solemn masses, for in *Ordo X*, which Mabillon[4] refers to the eleventh century, we are told that on Maundy Thursday the pope 'confirms' himself, not with a *calamus* or reed, but with the chalice only. Innocent III bears witness[5] to the same practice in the following century. This custom lasted long[6] and was widespread on the continent.

In spite of the numerous fractions and pourings of the consecrated wine from one vessel into another, we have

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[1] Lib. II : c. 41, in S. Gregorii *Opera*, iv, 58.

[2] St. Austin, *Contra epistolam Parmeniani*, Lib. II : cap vii : § 13 (*Opera*, t. ix, 22). And *Contra litteras Petiliani*, Lib. II : cap. xxiii : § 53 (*Opera*, t. ix, 158).

[3] *Dialog.* Lib. III : cap. iii.; *Opera*, ii, 284.

[4] *Museum Italicum*, ii, 100.

[5] *De Myster. Messae*, Lib. VI : cap. ix.

[6] See a *catena* of examples in Scudamore's *Notitia Eucharistica*, London, 1876; p. 752.

no directions for any precaution against crumbs or drops of wine falling to the ground, — accidents exceedingly likely to occur, one would imagine. It is quite unlikely that the Romans of the eighth century ignored such possibilities; but with them custom had not crystallized into formal rule.[1] Nor is anything said of systematic ablutions. Probably such matters were left to individual devotion. We may remember that the early Church dwelt far more strongly on the Sacrifice offered to the Father in the mass, than on the worship of our Lord in the same.

§ xxiv. *The Post-communion Collect.*

After the communion, the pope says the post-communion collect. But he does not turn to the people in making the usual salutation. The usual explanation of this is that the veils of the ciborium were all drawn, so that he could not be seen at all: or, at any rate, that the custom arose at a time when such was the practice.

§ xxv. *Alms and Collections of Money.*

The gathering of alms from the better-to-do for the benefit of the poor may be traced back to the injunction of St. Paul to the Corinthians, which he had previously given to the Galatians; namely, that on the Sunday each person was to set aside something of that in which he was prosperous, so that there need be no collections when he came. These alms were to be forwarded to the Church of Jerusalem, when St. Paul arrived at Corinth. This was not a weekly collection, however: but some have seen an allusion to such a practice in the words of the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, who tells them to

[1] The possibility of such accidents was recognized in the African Church of the third century. Tertullian (*De corona militis*, cap. iii) says: 'Calicis aut panis etiam nostri, aliquid decuti in terram anxie patimur.'

be not forgetful of doing good and communicating their goods to those in need.[1]

More clearly Justin Martyr states the actual practice of the second century. After the account of the Eucharist he continues :

> 'But those who have the means give, each at his own discretion, what he pleases. And that which is collected is laid up with him who presides ; and he succours orphans and widows, those in want from sickness and other cause, those in bonds, and strangers sojourning at the place : and in a word cares for all in need.'[2]

But these collections for charitable purposes were not the offertory, nor did they take place at the commencement of the mass of the faithful, but after it was over : just as in the later middle ages, up to 1549, gatherings for such and similar purposes were made in England after service at the church-door.

Allusions to such collections are not infrequent at most periods : under Pope Cornelius (254–255), for instance, by some such means, the Church at Rome maintained more than fifteen hundred poor persons.[3] But as time went on, and endowments began to increase, there was less and less need for such methods. We can see in the letters of St. Gregory how the funds derived from the Patrimony of St. Peter were supplied, amongst other matters, to the relief of the poor.

§ xxvi. *Concelebration.*

At a solemn mass the oblation was hallowed by the united prayers of the whole college of presbyters, voiced by their head, the bishop. The presbyters stand around

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[1] W. E. Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica*, London, 1876 ; p. 344.

[2] Justin Martyr, *1st Apology*, cap. 67. Of the custom of the African Church in the next century Tertullian writes : 'On the monthly collection day, each puts in a small donation, but only if he pleases, and only if he be able' (*Apologeticus*, cap. 39).

[3] Eusebius Pamphilus, *Eccles. Hist.*, Lib. VI : cap. xliii.

their bishop, and, as a ninth century Gallican writer[1] expresses it, 'give consent to his sacrifice.' But the Roman Church at an early period adopted another method. In the Life of Zephyrinus we are told that he established the custom of holding glass patens before the presbyters, and for deacons to hold them whilst the bishops celebrated mass, standing upright by him. We can gather from this that the earlier practice, by which the bishop consecrated the oblation with the assent of his presbyters, was at some time (which may or may not have been during the pontificate of Zephyrinus, 200–218) changed to another, whereby each presbyter consecrated a portion of the oblation, held before him by one of the deacons on a glass paten, simultaneously with the pope.

This rite persisted in the eighth and ninth centuries, but only on certain high festivals. The St. Amand *Ordo* gives these as Christmas, Epiphany, Easter day (both at the midnight mass and that on the day itself), Ascension day, Whitsunday, and SS. Peter and Paul. At ordinations and consecrations of churches it obtained for a much longer period.

In the ninth century the patens of glass had been replaced by corporasses, and each presbyter hallowed two or three loaves.

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[1] 'Presbyteri e regione dextra laevaque . . . consensum eius praebeant sacrificio (Gratiani *Decreti* pars iii, *De consecr.*: dist. i: cap. lix, *Episcopus Deo*).

Ordo Romanus I.]

Appendix J

Appendix J

Ordo Romanus Primus

Latin Text

1. PRIMO omnium observandum est, septem esse regiones ecclesiastici ordinis urbis Romae; et unaquaeque regio singulos habet diaconos regionarios, et uniuscuiusque regionis acolythi per manum subdiaconi regionarii diacono regionis suae officii causa subduntur. Quorum diaconorum si quando quispiam moritur, donec loco eius alius subrogetur, illius regionis acolythi archidiacono obediunt: quia omnes acolythi, cuiuscumque regionis sint, causa ecclesiastici officii ad ministerium eius pertinent. Quod etiam de subsequentibus ordinibus intelligendum est; servato unicuique post eum proprii gradus archidiaconi praerogativa in sui ordinis ministerio subditis: ut, si quis (verbi gratia) vim passus fuerit sive ab ecclesiastico seu a quacumque militari persona, si a sui ordinis primo eius causa ad effectum minime pervenerit, habeat archidiaconus (id est, vicarius pontificis) causam, qualiter subditorum sibi querelas absque notitia possit explicare pontificis: cetera vero per minores ordines finiantur. Nam primo scire oportet ut post numerum ecclesiasticarum regionum sciat, qui voluerit, numerum dierum per hebdomadam quo ordine circulariter obsequantur. Nam prima feria regio tertia, id est Paschae; secunda feria, regio quarta; tertia feria, regio quinta; quarta feria, regio sexta; quinta feria, regio septima; sexta feria, regio prima; sabbato, regio secunda. [1]Ergo unaquaeque regio[1] ordines proprios tam in processione

[1_1] Mabillon omits: added from Cassander.

Appendix J

Ordo Romanus Primus

English Translation

1. To begin with, it must be observed that the city of Rome is divided for ecclesiastical purposes into seven districts, to each of which is allotted one district-deacon; and the collets of each district are subordinate to the deacon of their district by reason of his office through the medium of the district-subdeacon. But when any one of the deacons dies, the collets of that district are subject to the archdeacon until another is chosen in his place: for all collets, of whatsoever district they may be, belong to his administration by reason of his office. Which also must be understood of the remaining Orders; the rights of the rank of archdeacon in particular apply to each one after him, to those holding subordinate positions in the ministry of his Order: so that, if, for instance, any one should have sustained an injury either from an ecclesiastical or some military person; supposing that his case cannot by any means be settled by the head of his own Order, the archdeacon (that is, the pontiff's vicar) shall take it up, as he is able to adjust the complaints of those under him without any reference to the pontiff: other matters, however, can be settled by the minor Orders.

Now, first, it is necessary to know, in order to understand how the number of the ecclesiastical districts and the number of the days of the week correspond, what order they successfully follow. On the first day of the week (that is, of Easter), the third district is responsible; on Monday, the fourth district; on Tuesday, the fifth

quam in ecclesia [1] habebit,[1] vel ubicumque eos propria dies, ratione sui gradus, [2] secundum priscam constitutionem,[2] ire vel ministrare compulerit ; et [3] a ministerio pontificis non poterit sine ulla sui deesse excommunicationis vel animadversionis sententia disciplinae. Quorum ministeria primitus secundum rationem simplicem dupliciter diebus singulis dividebantur,[4] id est, primo [5] in processione apostolici ad stationem, et [secundo] in egressu [6] e sacrario [6] usque ad missarum consummationem.

2. Diebus itaque solemnibus, sicuti est Pascha, primo omnes acolythi regionis tertiae, et defensores omnium regionum convenientes diluculo in patriarchio Lateranensi, praecedunt pontificem pedestres ad stationem. Stratores autem laici a dextris et a sinistris equi ambulant, ne alicubi titubet. Qui autem eum equitantes praecedunt hi sunt : diacones, primicerius, et duo notarii regionarii, defensores regionarii, subdiaconi regionarii. Procedunt vero divisis turmis, spatium inter se et apostolicum facientes. Post equum vero hi sunt qui equitant ; vicedominus, vestiarius, nomenclator, atque saccellarius. Unus autem ex acolythis stationarius praecedit pedester equum pontificis, gestans sanctum chrisma manu in mappula involuta cum ampulla : sed et omnes acolythi absque sacculis et sindone et chrismate non procedunt, quod disponit stationarius. Si quis autem adire voluerit pontificem, si equitat, statim ut eum viderit, descendat de equo, et ex latere viae exspectet usque dum ab eo possit audiri : et petita ab eo benedictione, discutiatur a nomenclatore vel saccellario causa eius ; et ipsi indicant pontifici et finiunt. Quod et similiter observabitur, etiamsi

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[1–1] Mabillon omits : added from Cassander.
[2–2] *Prisca statutio*, Mab. ; Text from C.
[3] C. ; M. omits.
[4] C. ; *dividuntur*, M.
[5] C. ; M. omits.
[6–6] C. ; *sacrarii*, M.

district ; on Wednesday, the sixth district ; on Thursday, the seventh district ; on Friday, the first district ; and on the Sabbath, the second district. Each district, therefore, will hàve its proper position both in procession and in church, or wherever a particular day may constrain them to go or to minister by reason of its rank, according to the ancient constitution ; nor can the district-clergy be absent from attendance on the pontiff without incurring some sentence of excommunication or disciplinary censure. And this attendance they used originally to divide into two parts by a simple rule, to wit (1) the pope's procession to the stational church, and (2) from his leaving the sacristy until the end of mass.

2. Thus, on solemn days (such for instance as Easter day) first of all the collets of the third district and the counsellors of every district meet at daybreak in the Lateran Palace, and proceed on foot before the pontiff to the stational church : and the lay grooms walk on the right and the left of his horse in case it stumble anywhere. Those who ride on horseback in front of the pontiff are the following :—The deacons, the chancellor, and the two district-notaries, the district-counsellors, and the district-subdeacons. They proceed moreover in two troops, leaving a space between them and the pope. The following are those who ride after the pope's horse :—The papal vicar, the sacristan, the invitationer, and the treasurer. The stational-collet goes on foot before the pontiff's horse, carrying in his hand an ampull wrapped in a napkin, containing the holy cream : but the rest of the collets also carry sacks, linen-cloths, and the cream, and walk in the procession, which duty the stational-collet arranges. Should any person wish to approach the pontiff, he must (if he is on horseback) dismount directly that he sees the pontiff coming, and await him by the roadside until he can be heard by him ; and after he has sought a blessing from the pope, his case shall be investigated by the invitationer

The Procession to the Stational Church.

absque ulla petitione ei quisquam obvius fuerit. Qui vero pedester fuerit, tantummodo loco suo figitur, ut ab eo audiatur vel benedicatur.

3. Die autem resurrectionis dominicae, procedente eo ad sanctam Mariam, notarius regionarius stat in loco qui dicitur Merolanas, et salutato pontifice dicit: *In nomine domini nostri Jesu Christi baptizati sunt in sancta Dei genetrice Maria infantes masculi numero tanti feminae tantae.* Respondit pontifex: *Deo Gratias.* Et accipit a saccellario solidum unum: pontifex autem pergit ad stationem. Feria secunda [1]ad missam similiter.[1] Feria tertia in reflexione porticus sancti Pauli, tantum item qui pedestres obsequuntur. In die vero sancti Paschae omnes acolythi regionis tertiae simul et defensores omnium regionum conveniunt primo diluculo in patriarchio Lateranensi, ut dum processerit pontifex equum illius praecedant. Acolythi autem qui inde fuerint, observant ut portent chrisma ante pontificem et evangelia sindones et sacculos et aquamanus post eum sicut supra diximus. Apostolum autem subdiaconus qui lecturus est, sub cura sua habebit; evangelium archidiaconus. Aquamanus, patenam cottidianam, calicem, scyphos, et pugillares alios argenteos et alios aureos, et gemelliones argenteos, colatorium argenteum et aureum, et alium maiorem argenteum, amas argenteas, cantatorium, et cetera vasa aurea et argentea, cereostata aurea et argentea, de ecclesia Salvatoris per manum primi mansionarii sumunt, et baiuli portant. Diebus vero festis calicem et patenam maiores, et evangelia maiora de vestiario dominico exigunt sub sigillo vesterarii per numerum gemmarum ut non perdantur. Sellam autem pontificis cubicularius laicus praecedens deportat, ut parata sit dum in sacrarium venerit.

[1–1] *Ad remissa simpliciter*, M. The whole passage is corrupt and far from clear.

or the treasurer, and they shall state it briefly to the pontiff, and bring it to a conclusion : which, also, in like manner shall be done if any one should meet the pope even without any petition. But any one on foot merely stands where he is, so that he may be heard by the pope or receive his blessing.

3. On Easter day, on the way to the basilica of St. Mary Major, the district-notary stands in the place which is called *ad Merulanas*, and after saluting the pontiff, says: *In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, last night there were baptized in the church of St. Mary the Theotokos, so many baby boys, and so many baby girls.* The pontiff answers, *Thanks be to God.* Then the former receives a shilling from the treasurer ; but the pontiff goes on to the stational church. On Monday to mass in like manner.† On Tuesday, at the bend of the porch of St. Paul, only those who are on foot attend.

But on Easter day all the collets of the third district, together with the counsellors of every district meet, as day is just breaking, in the Lateran Palace, so that when the pontiff sets out they may walk before his horse. But the collets who belong to that church take care to carry the cream before the pontiff, and the gospel-books, linen cloths, sacks, and washhandbasons after him, as we said above. But the subdeacon who is going to read the epistle shall have charge of the epistle-book, and the archdeacon of the gospel-book. The washhandbasons, the daily paten, the chalice, the communion-bowls, and the reeds (some golden, some silvern), and the silvern gemellions, with the golden and silvern strainer, and another larger one of silver, the silvern flagons, the grail, the rest of the vessels both golden and silvern, and the golden and silvern candlesticks are taken from the Church of St. Saviour by the chief sexton, and the bearers carry them. On festivals the larger chalice and paten and the larger gospel-books are required of the papal vestry, under the sacristan's seal on account of the number of precious

4. Ad denunciatam stationem diebus festis primo mane praecedit omnis clerus apostolicum ad ecclesiam ubi statio antea fuerit denunciata, exceptis his qui in obsequio illius comitantur ut supra diximus : et exspectantes pontificem in ecclesia cum supplementario et baiulis et reliquis qui cruces portant, sedentes in presbyterio ; episcopi quidem ad sinistram intrantium, presbyteri vero ad dextram, ut quando pontifex sederit, ad eos respiciens, episcopos ad dextram sui, presbyteros vero ad sinistram contueatur. Sed dum venerit pontifex prope ecclesiam, exeuntes acolythi et defensores ex regione illa cuius dies ad officium fuerit, in obsequio præstolantur eum loco statuto antequam veniat ubi descensurus est : similiter et presbyteri tituli vel ecclesiae ubi statio fuerit, una cum maioribus domus ecclesiae romanae vel patre diaconiae (si tamen illa ecclesia diaconiae fuerit) cum subdito sibi presbytero, et mansionario thymiamaterium deferentibus in obsequium illius, inclinato capite dum venerit. Primum acolythi cum defensoribus, deinde presbyteri cum suis,[1] petita benedictione divisis hinc inde partibus prout militant, praecedunt pontificem usque ad ecclesiam. Advocatores autem ecclesiae stant quidem cum maioribus ; non autem praecedunt cum eis, sed ipsi tantummodo sequuntur sellarem pontificis cum acolytho qui aquamanus portat ; quem semper necesse est sequi pontificem usque dum ad altare ascendit,[2] paratus sub humero in presbyterio quando vocetur a subdiacono regionario ad aquam dandam.

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[1] A word seems to be missing here.

[2] C. ; *ascendat*, M

stones, lest they be lost. The lay-chamberlain, however, goes on ahead and conveys the pontiff's sedan-chair, in order that it may be ready when he comes into the sacristy.

Arrival at the Stational Church.

4. At break of day on festivals all the clergy go on ahead of the pope to the appointed station (that is, to the church at which it had been previously announced that the stational mass would be celebrated), excepting those whose duty it is to accompany him, as we said above, and await the pontiff in the church, with the papal almoner and the bearers and the rest who carry crosses, sitting in the presbytery; the bishops, that is, on the left hand as they enter, the presbyters on the other hand on the right, so that when the pontiff sits down and looks towards them, he may see the bishops on his right hand and the presbyters on his left. Now when the pontiff draws near to the church, the collets and counsellors belonging to the district which is responsible for duty on that day, stand humbly awaiting him at the appointed spot, before he comes to the place where he will dismount: in like manner also the presbyter of the title or church at which the station is going to be held, together with the major-domos of the Roman Church, or the father of the hostelry (should that church happen to have one), with the presbyter subordinate to him [*i. e.* to the presbyter of the title], and the sexton, carrying a censer out of respect to the pope; and they all bow their heads when he arrives. First the collets with the counsellors, then the presbyters with their ['curates'?] having sought a blessing, separate into groups on either side, as their service requires, and go before the pontiff to the church. But the advocates of the Church, although they stand with the major-domos, do not go in front with them, but merely follow the pontiff's palfrey, together with the collet who carries the washhandbasons: who must always follow the pontiff until the time when he goes up to the altar, and be ready at his elbow in the presbytery

5. Cum vero ecclesiam introierit pontifex, non adscendit continuo ad altare, sed prius intrat in secretarium, sustentatus a diaconibus qui eum susceperint de sellari descendentem. Ubi dum venerit, sedit in sella sua, et diacones salutato pontifice egrediuntur secretarium, et ante fores eiusdem mutant vestimenta sua, et parat evangelium qui lecturus est, reserato sigillo ex praecepto archidiaconi, super planetam acolythi ; et si necesse fuerit propter maiora evangelia duobus acolythis super planetas tenentibus parat evangelium. Quo facto acolythus defert evangelium usque ante altare in presbyterium, praecedente eum subdiacono sequente, qui eum desuper planetam suscipiens manibus suis honorifice super altare ponat. Nam egredientibus diaconibus de secretario remanent cum pontifice primicerius, secundicerius, primicerius defensorum, notarii regionarii, et subdiaconus sequens qui tenet pallium pontificis in bracchio suo super planetam sinistro cum acubus.

6. Pontifex autem per manus subdiaconorum regionariorum mutat vestimenta sua hoc ordine. Defert ea plicata cubicularius tonsoratus, accepta de[1] manibus ostiarii. Iuxta caput scamni subdiaconi regionarii secundum ordinem suum accipiunt ad induendum pontificem ipsa vestimenta, alius lineum, alius cingulum, alius anagolaium (id est, amictum) alius lineam dalmaticam, et alius maiorem dalmaticam, et alius planetam : et sic per ordinem induunt pontificem. Primicerius autem et secundicerius componunt vestimenta eius ut bene sedeant. Novissime autem, quem voluerit

[1] C. ; *a*, M.

when he is called upon by the district-subdeacon to offer water.

5. Now when the pontiff enters the church, he does not go straight up to the altar, but first enters the sacristy, supported by the deacons who received him when he dismounted from his palfrey; and when he is gone therein he sits in his sedan-chair; and the deacons, after saluting the pontiff, go out of the sacristy and change their clothes before the doors: and he who is going to read the gospel makes ready the gospel-book (the seal of which has been unlocked by order of the archdeacon), which a collet holds for him outside his planet. If it should be necessary, on account of the size and weight of the larger gospel-book, two collets hold it outside their planets while he makes it ready. Which done, the collet carries the gospel-book into the presbytery before the altar, the subdeacon-attendant leading the way, who, taking it, carries it outside his planet and places it honourably on the altar with his own hands. Meanwhile, after the deacons go out of the sacristy, there remain with the pontiff the chancellor, the secretary, the chief counsellor, the district-notaries, and the subdeacon-attendant who bears the pontiff's pall with its pins on his left arm outside his planet. The Vesting.

6. Now the pontiff changes his vestments, with the assistance of the district-subdeacons, in the following manner. The clerical chamberlain brings them, all folded up, after having received them from the door-warden. Near the head of the bench the district-subdeacons take the vestments to put on the pontiff according to their order, one the linen, another the girdle, a third the amice, a fourth the linen dalmatic, a fifth the larger dalmatic, and another the planet: and thus they vest the pontiff in order. The chancellor and the secretary arrange his vestments so that they may hang well. Then, last of all, one of the deacons whom the lord pontiff may choose, or one

domnus pontifex de diaconibus, vel subdiaconibus cui ipse iusserit, sumit de manu subdiaconi sequentis pallium et induit super pontificem, et configit eum cum acubus in planeta retro et ante et in humero sinistro, et salutat domnum et dicit: *Iube, domne, benedicere.* Respondet: *Salvet nos Dominus.* Respondet: *Amen.*

7. Deinde subdiaconus regionarius, tenens mappulam pontificis in sinistro bracchio super planetam revolutam, exiens ad regiam secretarii dicit: *Schola.* Respondet: *Adsum.* Et ille: *Quis psallet?* Respondet: *Ille, et ille.* Et rediens ad pontificem subdiaconus, porrigit ei mappulam, inclinans se ad genua illius et dicens: *Servi domni mei, talis subdiaconus regionarius leget apostolum, et talis de schola cantabit.* Et postea non licet alterum mutare in loco lectoris vel cantatoris. Quod si factum fuerit, archiparaphonista (id est, quartus scholae) excommunicabitur,[1] qui semper pontifici nunciat de cantoribus. Quod cum nunciatum fuerit, statim[2] sequitur subdiaconus adstans ante faciem pontificis usque dum ei adnuat pontifex ut psallant: cui dum adnuerit, statim egreditur ante fores secretarii et dicit: *Accendite.* Qui dum accenderint, statim subdiaconus sequens tenens thymiamaterium aureum, pro foribus ponit incensum ut pergat ante pontificem. Et ille quartus scholae pervenit in presbyterio ad priorem scholae vel secundum sive tertium, inclinato capite, dicit: *Domne iubete.*

8. Tunc illi elevantes se per ordinem vadunt ante altare et statuuntur per ordinem acies duae tantum: paraphonistae quidem hinc inde aforis, infantes ab utroque latere

[1] M. adds: *a pontifice.*

[2] I think that we ought to read *qui sequitur* = *sequens.*

of the subdeacons whom he may command, takes the pall from the hand of the subdeacon-attendant, and sets it about the pontiff's shoulders, fastening it to the planet behind, in front, and on his left shoulder by means of the pins. Then he salutes the lord pontiff, saying, *Bid a blessing, my lord.* He answers, *May the Lord save us:* and the deacon (or subdeacon) replies, *Amen.*

7. Then a district-subdeacon, holding the pontiff's napkin on his left arm over his unrolled planet, goes out to the gate of the sacristy, and says, *The choir.* They answer, *I am present.* Then he asks, *Who is going to sing the psalm?* and they answer, *So-and-so, and so-and-so.* Then the subdeacon returns to the pontiff, offers him the napkin, bowing himself to the pope's knees, and says, *My lord's servants, so-and-so the district-subdeacon will read the epistle, and so-and-so of the choir will sing.* And after this no change may be made in either reader or singer : but if this should be done, the ruler of the choir (*i.e.* the fourth of the choir who always informs the pontiff on matters that relate to the singers) shall be excommunicated by the pontiff. When this has been announced, the subdeacon-attendant stands before the pontiff until such time as the latter shall sign to him that they may sing the psalm. As soon as the signal is given, he immediately goes out before the doors of the sacristy, and says, *Light up!* And as soon as they have lit their candles the subdeacon-attendant takes the golden censer and puts incense in it in front of the sacristy doors, so that he may walk before the pontiff. And the ruler of the choir passes through the presbytery to the precentor or the succentor or vice-succentor, and bowing his head to him says, *Sir, command!*

8. Then they rise up and pass in order before the altar, and the two rows arrange themselves in this manner : the men-singers on either side without the doors [of the presbytery], and the children on each side within. Immediately the precentor begins the anthem for the entry : and when

infra per ordinem. Et mox incipit prior scholae antiphonam ad introitum ; quorum vocem diaconi dum audierint, continuo intrant ad pontificem in secretarium. Et tunc pontifex elevans se, dat manum dextram archidiacono, et sinistram secundo vel qui fuerint in ordine ; et illi osculatis manibus ipsius, procedunt cum ipso sustentantes eum. Tunc subdiaconus sequens cum thymiamaterio procedit ante ipsum mittens incensum ; et septem acolythi illius regionis cuius dies fuerit, portantes septem cereostata accensa, praecedunt ante pontificem usque ante altare. Sed priusquam veniant ante altare, diacones in presbyterio exuuntur planetis : et suscipit eas subdiaconus regionarius, et porrigit illas ad acolythos regionis cuius fuerint diaconi : et tunc duo acolythi tenentes capsas cum sanctis apertas, et subdiaconus sequens cum ipsis tenens manum suam in ore capsae ostendit sancta pontifici vel diacono qui praecesserit. Tunc inclinato capite pontifex vel diaconus salutat sancta et contemplatur ut, si fuerit superabundans, praecipiat ut ponatur in conditorio. Tunc peraccedens antequam veniat ad scholam, dividuntur cereostata, quattuor ad dextram et tres ad sinistram partem ; et pertransit pontifex in caput scholae, et inclinat caput ad altare, surgens et orans et faciens crucem in fronte sua, et dat pacem uni episcopo de hebdomadariis et archipresbytero et diaconibus omnibus : et respiciens ad priorem scholae, adnuit ei ut dicat *Gloriam* : et prior scholae inclinat se pontifici, et imponit. Quartus vero scholae praecedit pontificem ut ponat oratorium ante altare, [1]si tempus fuerit :[1] et accedens pontifex orat super ipsum usque ad repetitionem versus. Nam diaconi surgunt quando dicitur : *Sicut erat in principio*, ut salutent altaris latera, prius duo, et duo vicissim, redeuntes ad pontificem. Et surgens pontifex osculatur evangelia et altare, et accedit ad sedem suam : et stat versus ad orientem.

[1–1] C. ; M. omits.

the deacons hear his voice, they at once go to the pontiff in the sacristy. Then the pontiff, rising, gives his right hand to the archdeacon, and his left to the second [deacon] or whoever may be appointed: who, after kissing his hands, walk with him as his supporters. Then the subdeacon-attendant goes before him with the censer, diffusing the perfume of incense: and the seven collets of the district which is responsible for that day, carrying seven lighted candlesticks, go before the pontiff to the altar. But before they arrive at the altar, the deacons put off their planets in the presbytery, and the district-deacon takes them and gives each severally to a collet of the district to which each deacon belongs. Then two collets approach, holding open pixes containing the Holy Element; and the subdeacon-attendant, taking them, with his hand in the mouth of the pix, shows the Holy Element to the pontiff and the deacon who goes before him. Then the pontiff and the deacon salute the Holy Element with bowed head, and look at the same in order that if there be too many fragments he may cause some of them to be put in the aumbry. After this the pontiff passes on, but before he comes to the choir the bearers of the candlesticks divide, four going to the right and three to the left; and the pontiff passes between them to the upper part of the choir, and bows his head to the altar. He then rises up, and prays, and makes the sign of the cross on his forehead; after which he gives the kiss of peace to one of the hebdomadary bishops, and to the archpresbyter, and to all the deacons. Then turning towards the precentor, he signs to him to sing, *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, etc.;* and the precentor bows to the pontiff, and begins it. Meantime the ruler of the choir precedes the pontiff in order to set his faldstool before the altar, if it should be the season for it: and approaching it, the pontiff prays thereat until the repetition of the verse [*i.e.* the anthem for the entry]. Now when *As it was in the beginning* is said, the deacons rise up in order to salute the sides of the altar, first two, and

The Introit.

9. Schola vero, finita antiphona, imponit *Kyrie eleison.* Prior vero scholae custodit ad pontificem ut ei adnuat si vult mutare numerum litaniae, et inclinat se pontifici. Quando vero finierint, dirigens se pontifex contra populum, incipit : *Gloria in excelsis Deo,*[1] si tempus fuerit,[1] et statim regyrat se ad orientem usque dum finiatur. Post hoc dirigens se iterum ad populum dicens : *Pax vobis ;* et regyrans se ad orientem dicit : *Oremus*, et sequitur oratio. Post finitam sedet ; similiter episcopi vel presbyteri sedent.

10. Tunc adscendunt subdiaconi regionarii ad altare, statuentes se ad dextram sive ad sinistram altaris. Tunc pontifex adnuit episcopis et presbyteris ut sedeant. Subdiaconus vero qui lecturus est, mox ut viderit post pontificem episcopos et presbyteros residentes, adscendit in ambonem et legit. Postquam legerit, cantor cum cantatorio adscendit et dicit responsum. [2] Ac deinde per alium cantorem [2] si fuerit tempus ut dicatur, *Alleluia* concinitur : sin autem, tractum : sin minus, tantummodo responsum cantatur.[3]

11. Deinde diaconus osculans pedes pontificis, tacite dicit ei pontifex : *Dominus sit in corde tuo et in labiis tuis.*

[1_1] C. ; M. omits.

[2_2] C. and M. both omit, and instead of *concinitur* have *bene.* I have followed in the text the corresponding passage in Mabillon's *Ordo III*, a ninth century document of Roman use, but not of the local church of Rome.

[3] C. and M. both omit : supplied from *Ordo III.*

then the rest by twos, and return to the pontiff. And then the latter arises, and kisses the book of the gospels and the altar, and, going to his throne, stands there facing eastwards.

9. Now, after the anthem is finished, the choir begins, *Lord, have mercy*. But the precentor keeps his eye on the pontiff, so that the latter may sign to him if he wishes to change the number of the Kyries, and bows to him. When they have finished, the pontiff turns himself round towards the people, and begins, *Glory be to God on high*, if it be the season for it, and at once turns back again to the east until it be finished. Then, after turning again to the people, he says, *Peace to you*, and once more turning to the east, says, *Let us pray*, and the collect follows. At the end of it he sits, and the bishops and presbyters sit in like manner. The Kyries. The Collect.

10. Meanwhile the district-subdeacons go up to the altar, and place themselves at the right and left of the altar. Then the pontiff signs to the bishops and presbyters to sit. Now, as soon as the subdeacon who is going to read perceives that the bishops and presbyters are sitting down after the pontiff, he goes up into the ambo and reads the epistle. When he has finished reading, a chorister goes up into the same with the grail, and sings the respond. And then *Alleluia* is sung by another singer, if it should be the season when *Alleluia* is said ; if not, a tract ; if when neither one nor the other is appointed, only the respond is sung. The Scripture Lessons.

11. Then the deacon kisses the pontiff's feet, and the latter says to him in an undertone, *The Lord be in thy heart and on thy lips*. Then the deacon comes before the altar, and after kissing the book of the gospels, takes it up in his hands ; and there walk before him [to the ambo] two district-subdeacons, who have taken the censer from the hand of the subdeacon-attendant, diffusing incense.

Deinde venit ante altare, et osculatis evangeliis levat in manus suas codicem. Et procedunt ante ipsum duo subdiaconi regionarii levantes thymiamaterium de manu subdiaconi sequentis mittentes incensum. Et ante se habent duos acolythos portantes duo cereostata. Venientes ad ambonem dividuntur ipsi acolythi ante ambonem, et transeunt subdiaconi et diaconus cum evangelio per medium eorum. Ille qui absque thymiamaterio est, vertens se ad diaconum, porrigit ei bracchium suum sinistrum in quo ponit evangelium, ut manu subdiaconi aperiatur ei locus in quo signum lectionis positum fuerit ; et interposito digito suo diaconus in loco lectionis adscendit ad legendum, et illi duo subdiaconi redeunt stare ante gradum descensionis ambonis. Finito evangelio dicit pontifex : *Pax tibi.* Deinde dicit : *Dominus vobiscum.* Respondetur : *Et cum spiritu tuo.* Et dicit : *Oremus.* Descendente autem diacono, subdiaconus qui prius aperuerat, recipit evangelium et porrigit eum subdiacono sequenti qui in filo stat, quod tenens ante pectus suum super planetam, porrigit osculandum omnibus per ordinem graduum qui steterint. Et post hoc praeparato acolytho in pogio iuxta ambonem cum capsa in qua subdiaconus idem ponit evangelium ut sigilletur. Acolythus autem regionis eiusdem cuius et subdiaconus est, revocat evangelium ad Lateranis.

12. Deinde pergente diacono ad altare, stante acolytho cum calice et corporali super eum, levat calicem in bracchio suo sinistro et porrigit diacono corporalem et accipit desuper calicem, et ponit eam super altare a dextris, proiecto capite altero ad diaconum secundum ut expandant. Tunc adscendunt ad sedem primicerius et secundicerius, et primicerius defensorum cum omnibus regionariis et notariis : subdiaconus vero cum calice vacuo sequitur archidiaconum.

13. Pontifex descendit ad senatorium, tenente manum

And in front of them they have two collets carrying two candlesticks. On coming to the ambo, the collets part before it, and the subdeacons and the deacon with gospel-book pass between them. The subdeacon who is not carrying the censer then turns towards the deacon, and offers him his left arm on which to rest the gospel-book, in order that the former may open it with his right hand at the place where the mark for reading was put: then, slipping his finger into the place where he has to begin, the deacon goes up to read, while the two subdeacons turn back to stand before the step coming down from the ambo. The gospel ended, the pontiff says, *Peace to thee;* and then, *The Lord be with you.* Answer is made, *And with thy spirit;* and he says, *Let us pray.*

When the deacon is come down from the ambo, the subdeacon who first opened the gospel-book previously, takes it from him and hands it to the subdeacon-attendant, who stands in his rank. Then the latter, holding the book before his breast, outside his planet, offers it to be kissed by all who stand [in the quire] in the order of their rank. And after this a collet is ready on the step by the ambo with the case, in which the same subdeacon puts the gospel-book so that it may be sealed. But the collet of the same district as that to which the subdeacon belongs carries it back to the Lateran.

12. The deacon in the meantime returns to the altar, where a collet stands holding a chalice with a corporas lying on it; raising the chalice in his left arm, he offers the corporas to the deacon, who takes it off the chalice and lays it on the right part of the altar, throwing the other end of it over to the second deacon in order to spread it. Then there go up to the throne the chancellor and the secretary, and the chief counsellor, with all the district-officials and notaries: but the subdeacon with the empty chalice follows the archdeacon.

13. The pontiff now goes down to the place where the

eius dextram primicerio notariorum et primicerio defensorum sinistram : et suscipit oblationes principum per ordinem archium.[1] Archidiaconus post eum suscipit amulas et refundit in calicem maiorem, tenente eum subdiacono regionario : quem sequitur cum scypho super planetam acolythus, in quo calix impletus refunditur. Oblationes a pontifice suscipit subdiaconus regionarius et porrigit subdiacono sequenti ; et subdiaconus sequens ponit in sindonem quem tenent duo acolythi. Reliquas oblationes post pontificem suscipit episcopus hebdomadarius ut ipse manu sua mittat eas in sindonem quae eum sequitur. Post quem diaconus qui sequitur [2]amulas suscipit, et post archidiaconum manu sua refundit in scyphum.[2] Pontifex vero antequam transeat in parte mulierum, descendit ante confessionem et suscipit oblationes [3] primicerii et secundicerii et primicerii defensorum. Nam diebus festis post diacones ad altare offerunt. Similiter adscendens pontifex in partem feminarum ordine quo supra omnia explet. Similiter et presbyteri, si necesse fuerit, post eum vel in presbyterio faciunt.

14. Post hoc pontifex tenente ei manum primicerio et secundicerio redit ad sedem suam, abluit manus suas. Archidiaconus stans ante altare, expleta susceptione lavat manus suas. Deinde respicit in faciem pontificis, adnuit ei, et ille resalutato accedit ad altare. Tunc subdiaconi regionarii levantes oblatas de manu subdiaconi sequentis super bracchia sua, porrigunt archidiacono, et ille componit altare. Nam subdiaconi hinc inde porrigunt. Ornato

[1] Arche = ἀρχή, a beginning. I take it to mean the date of their 'promotion' to their rank; or as we now say, of the creation of their title.

[2–2] I follow the order of the words as printed by C.: M. has *post archidiaconem, suscipit* [*amulas*] *et manu sua refundit in scyphum.*

[3] C. ; *oblatas*, M.

notables sit, the chancellor holding his right hand and the chief counsellor his left: and he receives the loaves of the princes in the order of their 'promotion' (?). The archdeacon next receives the flasks of wine, and pours them into the greater chalice which is carried by a district-subdeacon, and a collet follows him holding a bowl outside his planet, into which the chalice when full is emptied. A district-subdeacon takes the loaves from the pontiff and hands them to the subdeacon-attendant, who places them in a linen cloth held by two collets. An hebdomadary bishop receives the rest of the loaves after the pontiff, so that he may, with his own hand, put them into the linen cloth which is carried after him. Following him the deacon-attendant receives the flasks of wine, and pours them into the bowl with his own hand, after the archdeacon. Meanwhile the pontiff, before passing over to the women's side, goes down before the Confession, and there receives the loaves of the chancellor, the secretary, and the chief counsellor. For on festivals they offer at the altar after the deacons. In like manner the pontiff goes up to the women's side, and performs there all things in the same order as detailed above. And the presbyters do likewise, should there be need, either after the pontiff or in the presbytery.

The Offertory.

14. After this, the pontiff returns to his throne, the chancellor and the secretary each taking him by the hand, and there washes his hands. The archdeacon stands before the altar and washes his hands at the end of the collection of the offerings. Then he looks the pontiff in the face, signs to him, and, after the pontiff has returned his salutation, approaches the altar.

The Lavatory.

Then the district-subdeacons, taking the loaves from the hand of the subdeacon-attendant, and carrying them in their arms, bring them to the archdeacon, who arranges them on the altar. The subdeacons, by the bye, bring up the loaves on either side. Having made the altar ready, the archdeacon then

The Preparation of the Offering.

vero altare tunc archidiaconus sumit amulam pontificis de subdiacono oblationario, et refundit super colum in calicem ; deinde diaconorum ; et in die festo, primicerii, secundicerii, primicerii defensorum. Deinde descendit subdiaconus sequens in scholam, accipit fontem de manu archiparaphonistae, et defert archidiacono, et ille infundit faciens crucem in calice. Tunc adscendunt diaconi ad pontificem. Quos videntes primicerius, secundicerius, et primicerius defensorum regionariorum,[1] et notarii regionarii, et defensores regionarii, descendunt de aciebus, ut stent in loco suo.

15. Tunc surgens pontifex a sede, descendit ad altare, et salutat altare, et suscipit oblatas de manu presbyteri hebdomadarii et diaconorum. Deinde archidiaconus suscipit oblatas pontificis de oblationario et dat pontifici : quas dum posuerit pontifex in altare, levat calicem archidiaconus de manu subdiaconi regionarii et ponit eum super altare iuxta oblatam pontificis a dextris, involutis ansis cum offertorio : quem ponit in cornu altaris et stat post pontificem. Et pontifex inclinans se paululum ad altare, respicit scholam et adnuit ut sileant.

16. Tunc finito offertorio, episcopi stant post pontificem, primus in medio, deinde per ordinem ; et archidiaconus a dextris episcoporum, secundus diaconus a sinistris, et ceteri per ordinem disposita acie. Et subdiaconi regionarii, finito offertorio, vadunt retro altare aspicientes ad pontificem, ut quando dixerit *Per omnia saecula*, aut *Dominus vobiscum*, aut *Sursum corda*, aut *Gratias*, ipsi sint ad respondendum stantes erecti usque dum incipiunt dicere

[1] This word should probably be omitted, as the officer in question was chief of the whole *Schola defensorum*, and not merely of the district counsellors.

takes the pontiff's flask of wine from the subdeacon-oblationer, and pours it through a strainer into the chalice; then the deacons' flasks, and, on festivals, those of the chancellor, the secretary, and the chief counsellor as well. Then the subdeacon-attendant goes down into the choir, receives a ewer of water from the hand of the ruler of the choir and brings it back to the archdeacon, who pours it into the chalice, making a cross as he does so. Then the deacons go up to the pontiff: on seeing which, the chancellor, the secretary, the chief of the district-counsellors (*sic*), the district-notaries, and the district-counsellors come down from their ranks to stand in their proper places.

15. Then the pontiff, arising from his throne, goes down to the altar and salutes it, and receives the loaves from the hands of the hebdomadary presbyter and the deacons. Then the archdeacon receives the pontiff's loaves from the subdeacon-oblationer, and gives them to the pontiff. And when the latter has placed them on the altar, the archdeacon takes the chalice from the hand of a district-subdeacon and sets it on the altar on the right side of the pontiff's loaf, the offertory-veil being twisted about its handles. Then he lays the veil on the end of the altar, and stands behind the pontiff, and the latter bows slightly to the altar and then turns to the choir and signs to them to stop singing.

The Offerings of the Clergy.

16. The offertory being finished, the bishops stand behind the pontiff, the senior in the midst, and the rest in their order; the archdeacon standing on the right of the bishops, the second deacon on their left, and the rest in order arranged in a line. And the district-subdeacons go behind the altar at the end of the offertory and face the pontiff, so that when he says, *For ever and ever*, or, *The Lord be with you*, or, *Lift up your hearts*, or, *Let us give thanks*, they may be there to answer, standing upright, until the time when the choir begin to sing the angelical

hymnum angelicum, id est *Sanctus* : quem dum expleverint, surgit pontifex solus et intrat in canonem. Episcopi vero, diaconi, subdiaconi, et presbyteri in presbyterio permanent inclinati. Et cum dixerit : *Nobis quoque peccatoribus*, surgunt subdiaconi : cum dixerit : *Per quem haec omnia, Domine*, surgit archidiaconus solus. Cum dixerit : *Per ipsum, et cum ipso*, levat cum offertorio calicem per ansas, et tenens exaltat illum iuxta pontificem. Pontifex autem tangit a latere calicem cum oblatis, dicens : *Per ipsum, et cum ipso*, usque *Per omnia saecula saeculorum ; Amen.* Et ponit pontifex oblationes in loco suo, et archidiaconus calicem iuxta eas, dimisso offertorio in ansis eiusdem.

17. Nam quod intermissimus de patena ; quando inchoat canonem, venit acolythus sub humero, habens sindonem in collo ligatam, tenens patenam ante pectus suum in parte dextra usque in medium canonem. Tunc subdiaconus sequens suscipit eam super planetam et venit ante altare, exspectans quando eam suscipiat subdiaconus regionarius.

18. Finito vero canone subdiaconus regionarius stat cum patena post archidiaconum ; quando dixerit : *Et ab omni perturbatione securi*, vertit se archidiaconus, et osculata patena dat eam tenendam diacono secundo. Cum dixerit : *Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum*, faciens crucem tribus vicibus manu sua super calicem, mittit sancta in eum. Sed archidiaconus pacem dat episcopo priori, deinde ceteris per ordinem et populis.

hymn, that is, *Holy, holy, holy*. And when they have finished it, the pontiff rises alone and enters on the canon. The bishops, however, and the deacons, subdeacons, and presbyters remain in the presbytery, and bow themselves down. Now when the pontiff says, *To us sinners, also*, the subdeacons rise up, and when he says, *By whom all these things, O Lord*, the archdeacon arises alone. When the pontiff says, *By him, and with him*, the archdeacon lifts up the chalice with the offertory-veil passed through its handles, and, holding it, raises it towards the pontiff. Then the latter touches the side of the chalice with the loaves saying, *By him, and with him*, as far as, *For ever and ever. Amen.* Then the pontiff sets the loaves down again in their place, and the archdeacon puts the chalice down by them, and removes the offertory-veil from the handles of the same.

The Canon.

The Sacring.

17. We have, by the bye, omitted something about the paten. When the pontiff begins the canon, a collet comes near, having a linen cloth thrown around his neck, and holds the paten before his breast on the right side [of the altar ?] until the middle of the canon. Then the subdeacon-attendant holds it outside his planet, and comes before the altar, and waits there with it until the district-subdeacon takes it from him.

The removal of the Paten.

18. But at the end of the canon, the district-subdeacon stands behind the archdeacon with the paten. And when the pontiff says, *And safe from all unquiet*, the archdeacon turns round, and after kissing the paten, takes it and gives it to the second deacon to hold.

When the pontiff says, *The peace of the Lord be with you alway*, he makes a cross with his hand thrice over the chalice, and drops a consecrated fragment [reserved from the last solemn mass] into it. Meanwhile the archdeacon gives the kiss of peace to the chief hebdomadary bishop, then to the rest of the clergy in order, and then to the people.

The *Sancta*; and The Kiss of Peace.

19. Tunc pontifex rumpit oblatam ex latere dextro ; et particulam quam rumpit super altare relinquit : reliquias vero oblationes suas ponit in patenam quam tenet diaconus, et redit ad sedem. Mox primicerius et secundicerius, et primicerius defensorum, cum omnibus regionariis et notariis adscendunt ad altare, et stant in ordine suo a dextris et a sinistris. Nomenclator vero et saccellarius et notarius vicedomini, cum dixerint : *Agnus Dei*, tunc adscendunt adstare ante faciem pontificis ut adnuat eis scribere nomina eorum qui invitandi sunt, sive ad mensam pontificis per nomenclatorem, sive ad vicedomini per notarium ipsius : quorum nomina ut compleverint, descendunt ad invitandum. Nam archidiaconus levat calicem, et dat eum subdiacono regionario, quem tenet iuxta cornu altaris dextrum. Et accedentes subdiaconi sequentes, cum acolythis qui saccula portant, a dextris et a sinistris altaris, extendentibus acolythis bracchia cum sacculis : stant subdiaconi sequentes a fronte ut parent sinus sacculorum archidiacono ad ponendas oblationes prius a dextris, deinde a sinistris. Tunc acolythi vadunt dextra laevaque per episcopos circum altare, reliqui descendunt ad presbyteros, ad confringant hostias. Patena praecedit iuxta sedem, deferentibus cam duobus subdiaconibus regionariis ad diacones ut frangant. Sed illi aspiciunt in faciem pontificis ut eis adnuat frangere. Et dum adnuerit, resalutato pontifice, confringunt. Et archidiaconus, evacuato altari oblationibus praeter particulam quam pontifex de propria oblatione confracta super altare reliquit (quia ita observant ut dum missarum sollemnia peraguntur, altare sine sacrificio non sit), respicit in scholam, et adnuit eis ut dicant : *Agnus Dei*, et vadit ad patenam cum ceteris. Expleta confractione, diaconus minor, levata de subdiacono patena, defert ad sedem, ut communicet pontifex. Qui dum communicaverit, de ipsa sancta quam momorderit ponit inter[1] manus archidiaconi in calicem, faciens crucem ter, dicendo : *Fiat commixtio et consecratio corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi accipientibus*

[1] C. ; M. has *in*. The Gallican *Ordo II* of Mabillon has *inter*.

19. Then the pontiff breaks one of the loaves on its right side, and leaves the fragment which he breaks off upon the altar : but the rest of his loaves he puts on the paten which the deacon is holding, and returns to his throne. Immediately the chancellor, the secretary, and the chief counsellor, with all the district-officials and notaries, go up to the altar, and stand in their order on the right and left. The invitationer and the treasurer, and the notary of the papal vicar, when the choir sing *O Lamb of God*, go up and stand facing the pontiff in order that he may sign to them to write down the names of those who are to be invited either to the pontiff's table, by the invitationer, or to the papal vicar's, by his notary : and when the list of names is completed, they go down and deliver the invitations.

The Fraction.

The invitations to breakfast.

The archdeacon now lifts up the chalice and gives it to the district-subdeacon, who holds it near the right corner of the altar. Then the subdeacons-attendant, with the collets, who carry little sacks, draw near to the right and left of the altar : the collets hold out their arms with the little sacks, and the subdeacons-attendant stand in front, in order to make ready the openings of the sacks for the archdeacon to put the loaves into them, first those on the right, and then those on the left. The collets then pass right and left among the bishops around the altar, and the rest [*i. e.* the subdeacons] go down to the presbyters, in order that they may break the consecrated loaves. Two district-subdeacons, however, have proceeded to the throne, carrying the paten to the deacons, in order that they may perform the fraction. Meanwhile the latter keep their eyes on the pontiff so that he may sign to them when to begin : and when he has signed to them, after returning the pontiff's salutation, they make the fraction.

The Fraction continued.

The archdeacon, after that the altar has been cleared of the loaves, except the fragment which the pontiff broke off his own loaf and left on the altar (which is done so

nobis in vitam aeternam, Amen. Pax tecum. Et cum spiritu tuo; et confirmatur ab archidiacono.

20. Deinde venit archidiaconus cum calice ad cornu altaris et adnunciat stationem : et refuso parum de calice in scyphum inter manus acolythi, accedunt primo episcopi ad sedem ut communicent de manu pontificis secundum ordinem : similiter presbyteri ut communicent post eos. Episcopus autem primus accipit calicem de manu archidiaconi, et stat in cornu altaris [1] ut confirmet sequentes ordines [1] usque ad primicerium defensorum. Deinde archidiaconus, accepto de manu illius calice, refundit in scyphum quem supra diximus : et tradit calicem subdiacono regionario, qui tradit ei pugillarem cum quo confirmat populum. Calicem autem accipit subdiaconus sequens, et dat acolytho quem ille revocat in paratorium. Qui dum confirmaverit quos papa communicat, descendit pontifex a sede cum primicerio notariorum et primicerio defensorum tenentibus ei manus, ut communicet eos qui in senatorio sunt ; post quem archidiaconus confirmat. Post haec episcopi communicant populum, adnuente eis primicerio cum manu sub planeta, percontato pontifice. Post eos diaconi confirmant. Deinde transeunt in partem sinistram ut faciant similiter. Presbyteri autem, adnuente primicerio,

[1]–[1] C. ; *sequentis ordinis*, M. *Ordo II* agrees with C

that, while the solemnities of mass are being celebrated, the altar may never be without a sacrifice), looks at the choir, and signs to them to sing, *O Lamb of God*, and then goes to the paten with the rest. The fraction being finished, the second deacon takes the paten from the subdeacon and carries it to the throne to communicate the pontiff: who after partaking, puts a particle which he has bitten off the holy element into the chalice which the archdeacon is holding, making a cross with it thrice, and saying, *May the commixture and consecration of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ be to us who receive it for life eternal, Amen. Peace be with thee.* [And he answers] *And with thy spirit.* And then the pontiff is communicated with the chalice by the archdeacon. The Commixture.

20. Then the archdeacon comes with the chalice to the corner of the altar, and announces the next station: and after he has poured a small quantity of the contents of the chalice into the bowl held by the collet, there approach to the throne, so that they may communicate from the pontiff's hand, first the bishops in order, and then the presbyters in like manner, so that they may communicate after them. Then the chief hebdomadary bishop takes the chalice from the hands of the archdeacon, in order to administer the species of wine to the remaining ranks down to the chief counsellor. Then the archdeacon takes the chalice from him, and pours it into the bowl which we mentioned above: he then hands the empty chalice to the district-subdeacon, who gives him the reed wherewith he communicates the people with the species of wine. But the subdeacon-attendant takes the chalice and gives it to the collet, who replaces it in the sacristy. And when the archdeacon has administered the cup to those whom the pope communicated, the pontiff comes down from his throne, with the chancellor and the chief counsellor, who hold his hands, in order to communicate those who are in the places allotted to the magnates, after which the archdeacon communicates them with the cup. The Communion.

iussu pontificis, communicant populum ; et ipsi vicissim confirmant. Nam mox ut pontifex coeperat in senatorio communicare, statim schola incipit antiphonam ad communionem per vices cum subdiaconibus ; et psallunt usque dum communicato omni populo adnuat pontifex ut dicant *Gloria Patri*, et tunc repetito versu quiescunt. Et pontifex, mox ut communicaverit in parte mulierum, redit ad sedem ; et communicat regionarios per ordinem, et eos qui in filo steterunt : et in diebus festis de schola duodecim. Nam ceteris diebus in presbyterio communicant. Post hos omnes redeuntes nomenclator et saccellarius, et acolythus qui patenam tenet, et qui manutergium tenet, et qui aquam dat, ad sedem communicant ; et post pontificem archidiaconus eos confirmat.

21. Adstat autem subdiaconus regionarius ante faciem pontificis ut adnuat ei. Ille vero contemplans populum si iam communicati sint, et adnuit ei. Et ille vadit ad humerum, aspicit ad primum scholae, faciens crucem in fronte sua, adnuit ei dicere *Gloriam :* et ille resalutato, dicit *Gloria*, *Sicut erat*, et versum. Finita autem antiphona surgit pontifex cum archidiacono, et veniens ante altare dat orationem ad complendum, directus ad orientem. Nam in isto loco, cum *Dominus vobiscum* dixerit, non se dirigit ad populum. Finita vero oratione cui praeceperit archidiaconus de diaconibus aspicit ad pontificem ut ei adnuat, et dicit ad populum : *Ite*, *missa est.* Respondent :

After this the bishops communicate the people, the chancellor signing to them to do so with his hand under his planet, at the pontiff's formal request: and then the deacons administer the cup to them. Next they all pass over to the left side of the church, and do the same there. Moreover, the presbyters, at a sign from the chancellor, by command of the pontiff, communicate the people also, and afterwards administer the cup to them as well.

Now as soon as the pontiff began to communicate the magnates, the choir immediately began to sing the communion-anthem by turns with the sub-deacons; and they go on singing until, when all the people have communicated, the pontiff signs to them to sing *Glory be to the Father*, and then, after repeating the verse, they cease. The Communion-anthem.

The pontiff, directly after communicating those on the women's side goes back to the throne and communicates the district officials in order, and those who stand in a group, and on festivals twelve of the choir as well. But on other days these communicate in the presbytery. After all these the invitationer, and the treasurer, the collet who holds the paten, he who holds the towel, and he who offers water at the lavatory, communicate at the throne; and after the pontiff has communicated them, the archdeacon administers the cup to them.

21. Then a district-subdeacon stands before the pontiff in order that he may sign to him: but the pontiff first looks at the people to see if they have finished communicating, and then signs to him. Then he goes to the pontiff's shoulder and looks towards the precentor, making a cross on his forehead as a sign to him to sing *Glory be:* and the precentor returns his salutation, and sings *Glory be to the Father*, etc., *As it was in the beginning*, etc., and the verse. At the end of the anthem the pontiff rises with the archdeacon and comes before the altar and says the post-communion collect, facing eastwards. For at this part of the service, when he says, The Post-communion.

Deo gratias. Tunc septem cereostata praecedunt pontificem et subdiaconus regionarius cum turibulo ad secretarium. Descendente autem illo in presbyterium, episcopi primum dicant: *Iube, domne, benedicere.* Respondet: *Benedicat nos Dominus.* Respondent: *Amen.* Post episcopos, presbyteri; deinde monachi; deinde schola; deinde milites draconarii (id est, qui signa portant); post eos, baiuli; post eos cereostatarii; post quos acolythi qui rugam observant; post eos extra presbyterium cruces portantes; deinde mansionarii iuniores: et intrat in secretarium.

SUPPLEMENT.

Si autem summum pontificem, ubi statio fuerit, contigerit non adesse; haec sunt quae ab alio episcopo dissimiliter fiunt.

22. In primis, quod non illi sed diaconi praecedunt cum cereostato vel turibulo. Secundum, namque quod non sedet in sede post altare. Tertio, non dicit orationem post altare sed in dextro latere altaris. Quartum, non ipse episcopus, sed diaconus in eo loco, ubi consuetudo est, signat. Quinto loco, post finitum canonem, ubi dicitur: *Per quem haec omnia, Domine*, non levatur calix ab archidiacono. Sexto loco, quando dici debet: *Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum*, deportatur a subdiacono oblationario particula fermenti quod ab apostolico consecratum est, et datur archidiacono; ille vero porrigit episcopo. At ille consignando tribus vicibus et dicendo: *Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum*, mittit in calicem. Nam et hoc dissimiliter facit, quod apostolicus non confringit: ipse vero super pallam, quae corporalis dicitur, in altare confringit. Deinde communicant omnes

The Lord be with you, he does not turn to the people. At the end of the collect, one of the deacons, The Dismissal. appointed by the archdeacon, looks towards the pontiff for him to sign to him, and then says to the people, *Go*, [*mass*] *is over!* and they answer, *Thanks be to God.*

Then the seven collets carrying their candlesticks go before the pontiff, and a district-subdeacon with the thurible, to the sacristy. But as he goes down into the presbytery, first the bishops say, *Sir, bid a blessing;* and the pontiff answers, *May the Lord bless us!* and they answer, *Amen.* After the bishops the presbyters say the same, and then the monks, then the choir, then the military banner-bearers, *i. e.* those who carry standards: after them the bearers, after them the taperers, after them the collets who watch the gate (of the Confession ?); after them, but outside the presbytery, those who carry the crosses; then the junior sextons, and this done the pontiff enters the sacristy.

Supplement, showing what things are done differently if the stational mass is celebrated by another bishop when the pope is unable to be present.

22. *First*, that the deacons, and not the bishop who is celebrating that day, enter with the candlestick and thurible. *Secondly*, that the bishop does not sit in the throne behind the altar. *Thirdly*, that he does not say the collect behind the altar, but at the right side of it. *Fourthly*, that the deacon, and not the bishop himself, makes the sign of the cross in the place where it is customary. *Fifthly*, that the chalice is not elevated by the archdeacon after the canon, where, *By whom thou dost create all these things, O Lord*, is said. *Sixthly*, when, *The Peace of the Lord be with you alway*, ought to be said, the subdeacon-oblationer brings a fragment of the *Fermentum*, which has been hallowed by the pope, and gives it to the archdeacon, and he offers it to the bishop, who making the sign of the cross with it thrice as he says, *The Peace of*

praeter episcopum tantum, quod non sua manu communicat. Si [1] in ipsius manum mittit partem, et ipse se communicat cum propria manu. Similiter facit presbyter presbytero, et diaconus diacono. Nam reliqua omnia similiter ut summus pontifex facit.

Similiter etiam et a presbytero agitur, quando in statione facit missas, praeter *Gloria in excelsis Deo ;* quia a presbytero non dicitur nisi in Pascha.

Episcopi, qui civitatibus praesident, ut summus pontifex ita omnia peragunt.

48. In diebus festis, id est, Paschae, Pentecostes, sancti Petri, Nativitatis Domini, per has quattuor sollemnitates habent colligendos presbyteri cardinales, unusquisque tenens corporalem in manu sua : et venit archidiaconus et porrigit unicuique eorum oblatas tres. Et accedente pontifice ad altare, dextra laevaque circumdant altare, et simul cum illo canonem dicunt, tenentes oblatas in manibus, non super altare, ut vox pontificis valentius audiatur ; et simul consecrant corpus et sanguinem Domini : sed tantum pontifex facit super altare crucem dextra laevaque.

[1] The passage is corrupt. We should probably read *Alius episcopus* instead of *Si.* Compare the corresponding passage in the *Ordo* of St. Amand on page 163.

the Lord be with you alway, drops it into the chalice. This also is done differently, for the pope does not break one of the loaves, but the bishop breaks one over the cloth on the altar which is called a corporas. Then all communicate, save only the celebrant bishop, for he does not communicate himself by his own hand. Another bishop puts a part of a loaf into his hand, and then he communicates himself from his own hand. Likewise a presbyter does for a presbyter, and a deacon for a deacon. Everything else the bishop does just as the pope.

In like manner also things are done by a presbyter when he celebrates masses at a Station, except, *Glory be to God on high*, for this is not said by a presbyter save only at Easter.

Bishops who rule over cities perform all things as the pope himself.

[*The rite of concelebration on festivals.*]

48. On festivals, that is to say on Easter day, Pentecost, St. Peter's day, and Christmas day, the cardinal presbyters assemble, each one holding a corporas in his hand, and the archdeacon comes and offers each one of them three loaves. And when the pontiff approaches the altar, they surround it on the right and the left, and say the canon simultaneously with him, holding their loaves in their hands, and not placing them on the altar, so that the pontiff's voice may be heard the more strongly, and they simultaneously consecrate the body and blood of the Lord, but the pontiff alone makes a cross over the altar.

Ordo Romanus I]

Appendix II

Appendix JJ

An Ordo Romanus from a ninth century MS of St. Amand (c. 800 A.D.) rendered into English.

In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Here beginneth the Order in which mass is celebrated in the holy and apostolic Roman Church, which we have taken care to set forth with the utmost assiduity and the greatest diligence, not in grammatical phrases, but plainly and exactly; that is, how the pontiff proceeds on a solemn day with great honour, as has been found out from the holy fathers.

1. Now, first of all, all the clergy as well as all the people proceed to the church where the mass is to be celebrated, and the pontiff enters the sacristy, and puts on his sacerdotal vestments. When he wears a dalmatic, the deacons also wear dalmatics in like manner, and the subdeacons wrap themselves in amices about the neck, and vest themselves in such white tunics as they have, either silken or linen. But if the pontiff does not wear a dalmatic, the deacons and subdeacons do not wrap themselves in amices, but walk with white tunics, and planets. In the meantime, while the pontiff sits in his seat in the sacristy, the deacon who is going to read the gospel takes care of the gospel-book, and afterwards hands it to the subdeacon. Then the subdeacon carries it through the midst of the presbytery, and no one presumes to sit when they see him pass by; and, advancing through

The Vesting.

the presbytery, the subdeacon places it on the altar. And meanwhile the ruler of the choir stands before the pontiff and says to the district-subdeacon, *So-and-so sings the respond, so-and-so the Alleluia.* Then the pontiff says to the choir, *Enter!* and he sends word to the precentor, and says, *Command!* Then the above-mentioned subdeacon comes to the pontiff's ear and says in an undertone (*secreto*), *So-and-so reads; so-and-so and so-and-so sing the psalms.*

2. Then the oblationer lights two tapers before the sacristy for the pontiff's lights, which is the custom at all times, and goes in before the pontiff, and sets them behind the altar in two candlesticks, one on the right and one on the left. Then the collets light their candlesticks before the sacristy; and the pontiff comes out of the sacristy with the deacons, two of them supporting him, on the right and the left, and there go before him the seven candlesticks, and the subdeacon-attendant with a censer. The deacons have their planets over their dalmatics until they come with the pontiff to the upper part of the presbytery. On arriving there, they remove the planets which they have on, and their ministers take them. Now when the subdeacon who is precentor sees them taking off their planets, and the pontiff entering the presbytery, he too removes the planet which he is wearing, and a collet from the choir receives it. Then the priests (*sacerdotes*) rise up and stand. The subdeacons who come in before the pontiff do not pass on through the midst of the choir, but stand right and left before the screen, on either side. And when the pontiff has approached the choir, the collets stand there with their candlesticks, their order being changed, the last being first. Then the pontiff passes through the midst of the choir with the deacons, and signs to the precentor to say, *Glory be to the Father.* Then the senior bishop and the archpresbyter draw near, and the pontiff gives them the kiss of peace, and afterwards to the deacons. But if the pontiff should not be present, the deacon who is going

The Introit.

to read the gospel that day gives it in the same way. Then the pontiff comes before the altar, and stands there with his head bowed down, and the deacons in like manner. When the choir have said, *As it was in the beginning*, the deacons rise up from prayer, and kiss the altar on either side. And when the choir have repeated the verse, the pontiff arises from prayer, and kisses the gospel-book which lies on the altar, and goes from the right side of the altar to his throne, the deacons being with him on either side, standing and facing eastwards.

3. Then the collets set the candlesticks which they are holding on the ground. And when the choir have finished the anthem, the pontiff signs to them to say, *Lord, have mercy upon us*. And the choir says it, and the district-officials who stand below the ambo repeat it. When they have said it a third time, the pontiff again signs to them to say, *Christ, have mercy upon us*. And when that has been said thrice, he again signs to them to say, *Lord, have mercy upon us*. And when they have completed the ninth time, he signs to them to stop. Then turning towards the people the pontiff says, *Glory be to God on high*, and turns back again to the east, and the deacons with him, until the hymn is finished. When this is done he looks towards the people and says, *Peace to you*, and they answer, *And with thy spirit*. Then he says, *Let us pray*. Then the collets lift up their candlesticks, and set them down before the altar in the order which they keep.

The Kyries.

The Collect.

4. The collect ended, the pontiff sits in his throne, and the deacons stand on either side; and the choir turn back below the platform which is below the ambo, and the subdeacons who stand below the screen go up to the altar and stand on either side of it. Then the pontiff signs to the priests (*sacerdotes*) to sit down in the presbytery. Then a lesson is read from the ambo by a subdeacon. Then one of the choir

The Scripture Lessons.

or a collet, after removing his planet,[1] takes the grail and goes up into the ambo and says the respond: and another in like manner the *Alleluia*. At the conclusion of this, the deacon bows to the pontiff, and the latter orders him to read the gospel; he then goes up to the altar, kisses the gospel-book and takes it up. Then the pontiff rises from his throne and all the priests stand. And there go before the deacon two subdeacons, one on the right, the other on the left, and two collets carrying two candlesticks before him. And when they arrive at the ambo, the subdeacon who is on his right offers him his left arm, and the deacon rests the gospel-book on it while he finds the mark [for reading]. Then he goes up into the ambo, while the taperers turn back to stand before the ambo; and then the gospel is read.

5. After this the subdeacon takes the gospel-book, and holds it leaning against his breast, below the ambo, while all kiss the book. Then he puts it back in its case. The deacon returns to the altar, and the taperers go before him, and put their candlesticks behind the altar, as also the rest of the candlesticks. If there should be a cloth (*pallium*) on the altar, he folds it on one side towards the east, and the corporas is then spread over the altar by the deacons.

6. Then the pontiff washes his hands, and rises from his throne; and the choir go back to the left side of the presbytery. Then the pontiff goes down to receive the offerings from the people, and the archdeacon signs to the choir to say the offertory-anthem. As the pontiff receives the loaves, he hands them to a subdeacon, who puts them into a linen cloth held by the collets who attend him. The deacons receive the flasks of wine. The stational chalice is carried by the district-subdeacon, and the deacon pours the flasks into the holy

The Offertory.

[1] This appears to be the meaning of the passage, which is corrupt.

chalice itself; and when it is full, it is emptied into the bowls which the collets carry. Then the pontiff goes with the deacons to the women's side, and they do the same there. He then goes back to his throne, but the deacons remain to receive the flasks of wine. In the meantime there stand before the pontiff the chancellor, the secretary, the notaries and district-officials, while the presbyters are receiving loaves and flasks within the presbytery, both from the men's side as well as the women's; and the collets hold linen cloths and bowls to gather them in.

7. Then the archdeacon washes his hands, and the rest of the deacons wash their hands. Then the collets hold the linen cloth with the loaves which the pontiff received from the people, at the right corner of the altar: some of which the subdeacon-attendant selects and hands to a district-subdeacon, who gives them to the archdeacon. The latter places them upon the altar in three or five rows, only so much as may suffice for the people, and remain from that time till the morrow, according to canonical authority. In the meantime the chalice is held by the district-subdeacon, and the archdeacon takes the pontiff's flask from the hand of the oblationer and empties it into the holy chalice; and in like manner the flasks of the presbyters and those of the deacons as well. Then the subdeacon holds a strainer over the chalice, and the wine which the people offered and which is in the bowl is poured through it. Then one of the choir brings a ewer with clean water in it, and gives it to the oblationer, and the latter offers it to the archdeacon, who takes it and pours it, making a cross as he does so, into the holy chalice which is held by the subdeacon at the right corner of the altar. Then the pontiff descends from his throne, and comes before the altar; and the archdeacon receives the pontiff's loaves from the subdeacon-oblationer, and hands them to the pontiff, who sets them on the altar. Then the

The Lavatory.

The Preparation of the Offering.

The Offerings of the Clergy.

archdeacon takes the chalice from the subdeacon and sets it on the altar.

The pontiff then signs to the choir to make an end to the offertory-anthem: and they turn back and stand before the platform.

8. On Christmas day, the Epiphany, the Holy Sabbath, Easter day, Easter Monday, Ascension day, Whitsunday, and the feast of Saints Peter and Paul, the bishops stand behind the pontiff with bowed heads, and the presbyters on their right and left, and each one holds a corporas in his hand; two loaves are then given to each of them by the archdeacon, and the pontiff says the canon so that he can be heard by them; and they hallow the loaves which they hold, just as the pontiff hallows those on the altar. The deacons, however, stand with bowed heads behind the bishops; and the subdeacons face the pontiff with bowed heads until he says, *To us sinners also.*

Concelebration.

9. If, however, they be not solemn days, when the chalice is put on the altar, the presbyters go back into the presbytery, and the rest of the clergy in like manner go back and stand below the platform; and if it should happen to be a Sunday, the presbyters stand with bowed heads, but if on week days they bend the knee, when the choir begins, *Holy, Holy, Holy.* Then the collets come and stand before the altar behind the deacons, on the right and left, wrapped in linen cloths: and one of them, wrapped in a silken pall with a cross on it, holding the paten before his breast, stands first, and others hold bowls with ewers, others little sacks. Now when the pontiff has come to, *All honour and glory*, he takes up two loaves in his hands, and the deacon takes the chalice and lifts it up a little until he says, *For ever and ever, Amen.*

The Canon.

The Sacring.

10. Then the deacons and priests rise up from prayer. And when the pontiff has said, *The peace of the Lord be*

with you alway, the subdeacon takes the paten from the collet, and offers it to the archdeacon, who holds it at the pontiff's right hand; and the pontiff breaks one of the loaves which he offers for himself, and sets the crown of it down on the altar, putting one whole one and the other moiety on the paten; and the archdeacon returns the paten to the collet, and the pontiff goes to his throne. Then the other deacons break [the loaves] on the paten, and the bishops also [break loaves] in the right side of the apse. Then the archdeacon lifts the chalice up from the altar and gives it to the subdeacon, and stands with him at the right corner of the altar; the collets then approach the altar with little sacks, and stand around the altar; and the archdeacon puts the loaves into their sacks, and they return to the presbyters in order that they may break them. Meanwhile the presbyters and the deacons sing in an undertone, *Blessed are those that are undefiled.* If it should happen to be necessary, the loaves are first split asunder by a presbyter, and afterwards broken in pieces by the district-subdeacons. The choir then return to the left side of the presbytery, and the archdeacon signs to them to say, *O Lamb of God.* And in the meantime, while the fraction is being carried out, the collets who hold the bowls and the flasks answer again, *O Lamb of God.* And when they have finished the fraction, the archdeacon takes the holy chalice from the subdeacon, and another deacon takes the paten from the collet, and they go before the pontiff.

The Fraction.

11. The pontiff takes the Holy Element (*sancta*) from the paten, bites a small piece off, and makes a cross with it over the chalice, saying in an undertone, *May the commixture and consecration, etc.* Then the pontiff communicates of the chalice which is held by the archdeacon. Then the bishops and presbyters receive the Holy Element from the pontiff's hand, and go to the left part of the altar and place their hands on it, and so communicate. When the bishops

The Commixture.

The Communion.

and presbyters begin to communicate, the archdeacon goes to the right side of the altar, and a collet stands before him with the chief bowl. Then the former announces the next station, and they all answer, *Thanks be to God:* and then he pours from the chalice into the bowl. Next, he gives the chalice to the bishop who first communicated, and goes to the pontiff and receives the Holy Element from his hand, and the other deacons do the same; and they go to the right side of the altar and communicate. Then they partake of the chalice at the hands of the same bishop who communicated the presbyters therewith. Then the pontiff communicates the chief and the second [of the schools of the notaries and counsellors]. Then the archdeacon takes the chalice from the bishop, and a subdeacon comes up with a little strainer in his hand: and he takes the Holy Element out of the chalice, and puts it into the chief ewer whence the archdeacon will communicate the people; and the archdeacon empties the chalice into the second chalice, and the collet pours from this into the chief ewer. Then the pontiff goes down to communicate the people, and the archdeacon signs to the choir to say the communion-anthem. And when the choir have said it, the subdeacons on the left side of the screen below the throne (*thronum*) repeat it. And when the magnates, tribunes, counts, and judges, and any others whom he wishes, have been communicated [by the pope], he goes to the women's side below the screen, followed by the deacons who administer the cup to the people. Then, when he desires it, he returns to his throne, and the priests stand below the presbytery to communicate the people in both species. And in the meantime the pontiff sits on his throne, and a collet stands before him with the holy paten, and the subdeacons, notaries, and district-officials come before him, and the deacon communicates them with the species of wine.

The Communion-Anthem.

12. Then the notaries stand before the pontiff with pen

and book (*dhomum, i.e. tomum*) in their hand, and he bids them write the names of those whom he wishes invited. Then the notaries go down from the throne, and announce the invitations to those whose names are written down. The invitations to breakfast.

13. Meanwhile a priest comes and communicates the choir, and the ruler of the choir holds in his hand a ewer which has been filled from the principal bowl; and a presbyter takes it from his hand and makes a cross with the Holy Element over the ewer, and drops It in, and then he administers the cup to the choir. All the presbyters do likewise when they communicate the people with the cup. And when the archdeacon sees that few are left to be communicated, he signs to the choir to say, *Glory be to the Father*. And the subdeacons reply, *As it was in the beginning*, and the choir repeat the verse.

14. Then the pontiff comes down from the throne and goes before the altar, and the candlesticks are put behind him. And in the meantime the priests and the deacons wash their hands, and give one another a kiss in order, and the subdeacons in their turn where they stand, and the choir likewise in the place where they stand. The second Lavatory.

15. The collect having been finished, the deacon (not he who reads the gospel, but another) says, *Go, [mass] is over!* The Post-communion Collect and Dismissal.

Then the pontiff comes down from the altar, and the deacons with him, and the subdeacon who has been mentioned above goes before him with the censer, as also the candlesticks carried by the collets; and as he passes down through the midst of the presbytery a subdeacon of the choir says, *Sir, bid a blessing!* And the pontiff gives the prayer, and they answer, *Amen*. And when he goes out of the presbytery, the judges next say, *Sir, bid a blessing*. And when the blessing has been given, they

answer, *Amen*. And the collets come before the pontiff with their candlesticks, and stand before the door of the sacristy until he is gone in; and then they put out their lights.

16. Then the pontiff takes off his vestments, and the subdeacons take them and hand them to the chamberlains. The deacons, however, unvest outside the sacristy and their collets take their vestments. And when the pontiff sits down, the chief sexton of the church comes with a silver bowl (*bacea* = *bacchia*) with little round loaves on it (or if there is none of silver, with a bowl of some sort [*catino*]), and stands before the pontiff; and there come in order the deacons, then the chancellor and the secretary and the papal-vicar and the subdeacons, and they receive little loaves or cakes from the pontiff's hand. Then a drink is prepared for the pontiff and the rest above mentioned. All having been finished, the pontiff gives a blessing, and they go out of the sacristy.

The Unvesting.

17. And this which we have omitted, we recall to mind; that is, that if the pontiff should not make his appearance, the deacons set out as is said above. And if there should be no deacons, the presbyter proceeds in their place from the sacristy with the candlesticks to set before the pontiff's throne, and he can read the gospel in the ambo divested of his planet like a deacon, and on coming down from the ambo he puts his planet on again. And when the deacons or presbyters come before the screen, the bishop or presbyter who is going to celebrate mass that day comes from the left side of the presbytery, and the deacon who is going to read the gospel that day gives him the kiss of peace. And when the choir have finished, *Lord, have mercy upon us*, the bishop goes to the right side of the throne within the screen, and says, *Glory be to God on high*. But if it should be a presbyter who is celebrating, he does not say, *Glory be to God on high*, but only advances and says the collect. And when that is over, he returns to his place

until the gospel is read. When that is over, he advances as above, and says, *The Lord be with you*, then, *Let us pray;* and everything is done as it is described above. And when he comes to, *All honour and glory*, the deacon does not lift up the chalice as he does for the pontiff, but the bishop or presbyter [who is celebrating] lifts up two loaves, and touches the chalice with them as he says, *For ever and ever*. And when he is going to say, *The peace of the Lord be with you alway*, the subdeacon holds a piece of the Holy Element, which the pontiff has consecrated, at the right corner of the altar; and the deacon takes it and hands it to the bishop or presbyter, who thereupon makes a cross with it over the chalice, saying, *The peace of the Lord be with you alway*. Then he kisses the altar, and the deacon gives the kiss of peace to the subdeacon. Then another bishop comes from the left side [of the presbytery], and they both hold their hands over the loaves and break them; and then the [second] bishop goes back again to his place. The bishop or presbyter who is celebrating the mass then hands one whole loaf, and a moiety of one which has been divided, to the deacon; and he puts the moiety on the paten, and that which is whole into a little sack held by a collet. The latter then goes to the archpresbyter for him to break the loaf: but the bishop stands at the left side of the altar until the loaves have been transferred to the little sacks of the collets, as is the custom. Then the bishop turns back before the altar, and breaks the moiety of the loaf which was left there. And as soon as the fraction has been completed, the deacon announces the next station, as is the custom. Then both bishops and presbyters come before the altar to communicate; and the bishop [who is celebrating] places two fragments in the hand of the first of the [other] bishops, and he who receives them returns one of the fragments to the celebrant, and he holds the fragment in his right hand until they have communicated, as described above. Then he who is celebrating the mass places his hands upon the altar, and communicates. Then

The Fermentum.

the deacons communicate, and the bishop or presbyter who first communicated administers the cup to them ; and he holds the chalice, and accomplishes all things as is written above.

A Table of the most notable differences between Ordo I and the Ordo of St. Amand.

Ordo Romanus I.	*Ordo of St. Amand.*
1. A collet carries in the gospel-book before mass. The subdeacon-attendant precedes him ; on arriving at the altar he takes the book from him and sets it thereon.	1. The gospel-book is carried in by a subdeacon and set on the altar by him.
2. A district-subdeacon ascertains who is to sing the grail, etc., then tells the pope who sings and who reads the epistle.	2. The ruler of the choir tells a district-subdeacon, who then tells the pope. No mention of the epistoler.
3. When all are ready to enter, the ruler of the choir goes to the precentor and says, "Sir, Command !"	3. The pope sends word to the precentor and says, "Sir, Command !"
4. No mention of these tapers at all.	4. The bringing in of the oblationer's two tapers.
5. Inspection of the Eucharist reserved from previous solemn mass.	5. No mention of this.
6. *Pax* given before *Gloria Patri* is sung.	6. *Pax* given after *Gloria Patri.*
7. *Kyries* sung by the choir.	7. *Kyries* sung by the choir and repeated by the district officials below the ambo.
8. After the responsory psalm the gospeller kisses the pope's feet.	8. The gospeller only bows to the pope.
9. The subdeacon-attendant holds the gospel-book for the kissing after the reading.	9. The gospel-book held by a subdeacon.

Ordo Romanus I.	*Ordo of St. Amand.*
10. No mention of the Pallium.	10. Pallium (if any) turned back off the altar.
11. The ruler of the choir offers water for the chalice to the subdeacon-attendant.	11. One of the choir offers water to the subdeacon-oblationer.
12. The offertory veil used in setting the chalice on the altar.	12. No mention of the offertory veil.
13. No mention of this.	13. At *Sanctus* collets with palls stand behind the deacons holding ewers and sacks.
14. The collet acting as patener has a linen sudary girt around his neck.	14. The patener has a silken pall or sudary marked with a cross.
15. The veil is used when the archdeacon raises the chalice at the second sacring.	15. No mention of the veil.
16. No mention of this.	16. Ps. *Beati immaculati* sung by priests and deacons at the fraction.
17. *Agnus Dei* sung by the choir.	17. Sung by the choir and repeated by the collets.
18. The *Sancta* and the Pax come before the fraction. No mention of the lavatory.	18. No mention of the *Sancta*. Pax and lavatory after communion.
19. Invitations to breakfast issued during *Agnus Dei*.	19. After the communion of the subdeacons, notaries and district officials.
20. The next station announced between the communion of the pope and that of the bishops.	20. Announced during the communion of the bishops and presbyters.

Appendix III

Appendix III

The Roman Liturgy of the eighth century, with Forms proper to Easter day and Rubrical Directions from the Gregorian Sacramentary, and 'Ordo Romanus Primus,' and the 'Ordo' of St. Amand.

THE MASS OF EASTER DAY.

¶ *On Easter day the station is at the Basilica of St. Mary Major.*

¶ *In the first place is sung the Anthem at the Entry, agreeable to the appointed times, whether festivals or ordinary days.*

1*st Semi-chorus. Anthem.* When I rise up, I am present with thee, Alleluia : thou hast laid thine hand upon me, Alleluia : such knowledge is too wonderful for me, Alleluia.

2*nd Semi-chorus. Psalm cxxxix, verse* 1. O Lord, thou hast searched me out, and known me : thou knowest my downsitting and mine uprising.

1*st Semi-chorus. Anthem.* When I rise up, *etc., as above.*

2*nd Semi-chorus. Ps., verse* 2. Thou understandest my thoughts long before : thou art about my path, and about my bed.

1*st Semi-chorus. Anthem.* When I rise up, *etc., as above. The psalm is thus continued with the anthem sung after each verse until the signal to sing,* Glory be to the Father, *is given, and that having been sung the anthem is again repeated.*

¶ *Then* Kyrie eleison *is sung.*

The Choir. Lord, have mercy upon us.

The District-officials. Lord, have mercy upon us.

The Choir. Christ, have mercy upon us.

The District-officials. Christ, have mercy upon us.

The Choir. Lord, have mercy upon us.

The District-officials. Lord, have mercy upon us.

The number of times each is sung being determined by the Pontiff.

¶ *Next is said* Glory be to God on high *if the celebrant should be a bishop; but only on Sundays and Festivals. It is, however, never said by presbyters, save only on Easter day. But on days when Litanies are performed, neither* Glory be to God on high *nor* Alleluia *is sung.*

¶ *Afterwards is said the Collect.*

Pontiff. Peace be to you.

Answer. And with thy spirit.

Pontiff. Let us pray. O God, who on this day hast through thine only-begotten Son unlocked the portal of eternity and vanquished death; follow with thy help our desires which thou hast instilled into us by thy preventing power; through the same thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord, who with thee and the Holy Ghost liveth and reigneth, one God, for ever and ever.

Answer. Amen.

¶ *Then follows the Apostle.*

1 *Corinth. v*, 7, 8. Beloved brethren, purge out the old leaven . . . sincerity and truth.

¶ *And then the Grail and Alleluia.*

The Respond. Cantor: This is the day which the Lord hath made: let us rejoice and be glad in it. *Choir repeat:* This is the day, etc.

Verse. *Cantor:* O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is gracious: and his mercy endureth for ever. *Choir repeat:* This is the day, etc.

Verse. *Cantor:* Let Israel now confess that he is gracious, and that his mercy endureth for ever. *Choir repeat:* This is the day, etc.

Verse. *Cantor:* Let the house of Aaron now confess that his mercy endureth for ever. *Choir repeat:* This is the day, etc.

Verse. *Cantor:* Yea, let them now that fear the Lord confess that his mercy endureth for ever. *Choir repeat:* This is the day, etc.

Verse. *Cantor:* The right hand of the Lord hath the pre-eminence: the right hand of the Lord bringeth mighty things to pass. *Choir repeat:* This is the day, etc.

Verse. *Cantor:* The same stone, which the builders refused, is become the headstone of the corner. *Choir repeat:* This is the day, etc.

Verse. *Cantor:* Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord: God is the Lord who hath showed us light. *Choir repeat:* This is the day, etc.

¶ *Then another cantor sings the Alleluia.*

Cantor: Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us.

Choir repeat: Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us.

Verse. *Cantor:* Let us therefore keep the feast, with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth.

Choir repeat: Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us.[1]

¶ *After this the Gospel is read by the deacon.*

St. Mark xvi, 1–11. And when the Sabbath was past . . . believed not.

[1] After this, in St. Gregory's days, the deacon exclaimed: '*If any one does not communicate, let him go away!*' This had disappeared by the time of *Ordo I*, but at Scrutiny masses the deacon still called out here: '*If any one be a catechumen, let him depart! Let all catechumens go out of the doors!*'

¶ *And then the Offertory is sung.*

Choir: The earth trembled, and was still, when God arose to judgment, Alleluia.

Cantor:[1] In Jewry is God known : his name is great in Israel, Alleluia.

Choir: The earth trembled, etc.

Cantor: At Salem is his tabernacle : and his dwelling in Sion, Alleluia.

Choir: The earth trembled, etc.

Cantor: There brake he the arrows of the bow : the shield, the sword, and the battle : thou art of more honour and might than the hills of the robbers.

Choir: The earth trembled, etc.

¶ *And then is said the Prayer over the Offerings, in an undertone.*

Receive, O Lord, we beseech thee, the prayers of thy people, with the offerings of sacrifices ; that they, having been consecrated by the Easter mysteries, may contribute to our eternal healing by thy working in us : through our Lord Jesus Christ, who with thee and the Holy Ghost, liveth and reigneth, one God,

¶ *At the end of this prayer the pontiff says in a loud voice,*

For ever and ever. *Answer.* Amen.

Pontiff. ℣ The Lord be with you.

℟ And with thy spirit.

℣ Lift up your hearts.

℟ We lift them up unto the Lord.

℣ Let us give thanks to our Lord.

℟ It is meet and right.

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[1] See, however, p. 88

Pontiff. It is very meet and right, reasonable and healthful, that we should at all times and in all places give thanks unto thee, O holy Lord, almighty Father, eternal God ; glorious in truth is it to praise thee at all times, but specially on this day, when Christ our passover was sacrificed for us, by whom the sons of light arise to eternal life, the courts of the heavenly kingdom are opened to the faithful, and by the law of blessed fellowship human things are changed to divine : for the death of us all is destroyed by the cross of Christ, and in his resurrection the life of every man has risen again ; whom we own in his putting on of our mortality to be the God of majesty, and acknowledge to be God and Man in the glory of his godhead ; who by his death hath destroyed our death, and by his resurrection hath restored to us life. And therefore, with angels and archangels, thrones and dominations, and with the whole company of the heavenly army, we sing the hymn of thy glory, evermore saying :

The Choir. Holy, holy, holy, Lord of Hosts ; heaven and earth are full of thy glory.

Pontiff. Therefore we humbly pray and beseech thee, O most merciful Father, through Jesus Christ, thy Son, our Lord, to accept and bless these gifts, these offerings, these holy and spotless sacrifices, which, in the first place, we offer to thee for thy holy Catholic Church, that thou wouldest be pleased to keep it in peace, to guard, unite, and govern it throughout the whole world ; together with thy servant our pope *N.*

Remember, O Lord, thy servants and handmaidens,[1] and all here present, whose faith is evident and whose devotion known to thee ; who are offering to thee this sacrifice of praise, for themselves and all their friends, for the redemption of their souls, for the hope of their salvation and their safety, who direct their prayers to thee, everlasting God, living and true.

Joining in communion with, and moreover celebrating

[1] It would appear that the names were not mentioned on Sundays.

the most holy day of the resurrection of our Lord God Jesus Christ, according to the flesh ; and venerating the memory, first of the glorious ever-virgin Mary, mother of the same our God and Lord Jesus Christ ; and also of thy blessed apostles and martyrs, Peter, Paul, Andrew, James, John, Thomas, James, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon and Jude, Linus Cletus, Clement, Xystus, Cornelius, Cyprian, Laurence, John and Paul, Cosmas and Damian, George, Gregory, and all thy saints ; by whose merits and prayers do thou grant that in all things we may be defended by the help of thy protection ; through the same Christ, our Lord.

Graciously accept, O Lord, we beseech thee, this oblation of our service and of thy whole family, which we offer unto thee, for these also whom thou hast vouchsafed to regenerate with water and the Holy Ghost, and to grant remission of all their sins : order our days in thy peace, and deliver us from everlasting damnation, and number us in the flock of thy chosen ones ; through Christ our Lord.

Vouchsafe, O God, we beseech thee, to make this offering in every way blessed, available, valid, reasonable and acceptable, that it may become to us the body and blood of thy dearly beloved Son, but our Lord God, Jesus Christ.

Who, on the day before he suffered, took bread in his holy and venerable hands, and raising his eyes heavenwards to thee, O God, his almighty Father, gave thanks to thee, and blessed, and brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take and eat ye all of this, for this is my body. Likewise after supper he took this noble chalice into his holy and venerable hands, and gave thanks to thee, and blessed it and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take and drink ye all of this, for this is the chalice of my holy blood of the new and eternal testament, a mystery of faith, which shall be shed for you and for many, for the remission of sins. As oft as ye do these things, do them for my memorial.

Wherefore, O Lord, we thy servants and thy holy people, are mindful both of the blessed passion of the same Christ, thy Son, our Lord God, and also of his resurrection from hell, and of his glorious ascension into heaven, and offer unto thy excellent majesty of thine own gifts and presents, a pure sacrifice, a holy sacrifice, a spotless sacrifice, the holy bread of eternal life and the chalice of everlasting salvation.

Vouchsafe to regard these with favourable and gracious countenance, and accept them as thou didst deign to accept the gifts of thy righteous child Abel, the sacrifice of our patriarch Abraham, and the holy sacrifice, the spotless offering which thy high priest Melchisedech offered unto thee.

We humbly beseech thee, almighty God, to command these things to be borne by the hands of thy holy angel to thy heavenly altar in the sight of thy divine Majesty, that so many of us as from this altar of participation shall receive the most holy body and blood of thy Son, may be fulfilled with all heavenly benediction and grace ; through Christ our Lord.[1]

To us sinners, also, thy servants, who trust in the multitude of thy mercies, vouchsafe to grant some part and fellowship with thy holy Apostles and Martyrs, with John, Stephen, Matthias, Barnabas, Ignatius, Alexander, Marcellinus, Peter, Perpetua, Agnes, Cecilia, Felicitas, Anastasia, Agatha, Lucy, and with all thy saints, into whose company we beseech thee to admit us, not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences ; through Christ our Lord.

Blessing of the fruits of the earth, etc.

God of all flesh, who gavedst Noah and his sons commands to distinguish between clean and

Bless, O Lord, these [beans, new fruits, grapes] which thou, O Lord, hast vouchsafed to ripen

[1] *On week-days was here added:* 'Remember also, O Lord, the names of those who are gone before us with the sign of faith, and rest in the sleep of peace, N.N. To them, and all that repose in Christ, grant, we pray thee, a place of refreshment, light and peace; through the same Christ our Lord.'

unclean beasts, and who didst bid mankind eat of clean beasts as well as of vegetable food; who didst bid Moses and thy people to partake of a lamb on the eve of the Passover in figure of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whose blood thou didst redeem to thyself all the first-born creatures of this world, and on that night didst slay every first-born creature in Egypt, preserving thy people marked beforehand with the blood of the lamb; vouchsafe, O Lord Almighty, to bless and sanctify this flesh that all thy faithful people who partake thereof may be fulfilled with all heavenly benediction and grace: through Christ our Lord,[1]

by the dew of heaven, the watering of rain, and the calm and quiet season, and hast given for our use, to be received with thanksgiving, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ;[2]

by whom, O Lord, thou dost ever create all these good things, dost hallow, quicken and bless them, and bestow them upon us. By him and with him, and in him, be to thee, God the Father Almighty, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honour and glory, for ever and ever. *Answer.* Amen.

Pontiff. Let us pray. Being urged by healthful precept, and prepared by divine instruction, we are bold to say, Our Father, which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name, thy kingdom come, thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven; give us this day our daily bread and forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us, and lead us not into temptation.

Answer. But deliver us from the evil. Amen.

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[1] This is certainly not a Roman but a Gallican prayer: but it is here inserted merely to show the position that the prayer for the first-fruits occupied. Duchesne says that always, even on ordinary occasions, there was once a prayer here for the fruits of the earth (*Origines du Culte Chrétien*, Paris, 1898; p. 165). At the previous mass on the night before milk and honey were blessed here, and given to the neophytes.

[2] This is the Roman prayer used on Ascension day, and the feast of St. Sixtus, at this place.

Pontiff. Deliver us, O Lord, from every evil, past, present, and to come; and at the intercession for us of the blessed and glorious and ever-virgin, Mary the Theotokos, and of thy blessed apostles Peter and Paul and Andrew, and all saints, graciously give thy peace in our days, that we, being aided by the help of thy mercy, may ever be freed from sin and safe from all unquiet; through our Lord Jesus Christ, thy Son, who with thee liveth and reigneth, God, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever.

Answer. Amen.

Pontiff. The peace of the Lord be with you alway.

Answer. And with thy spirit.

¶ *Then the choir sing during the Fraction.*

O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us.

And the collets respond: O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us.

Pontiff. May the commixture and consecration of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ be to us who receive it for life everlasting.

Answer. Amen.

Pontiff. Peace be with you.

Answer. And with thy spirit.

¶ *Then the archdeacon announces the next station, saying*[1] *in a loud voice:*

To-morrow the Station will be at the Basilica of St. Peter the chief of the Apostles.

And the choir answer: Thanks be to God.

¶ *In administering the Sacrament of the Body is said*[2] *to each communicant:*

The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ avail to thee for the remission of all sins, and for everlasting life.

[1] This formula is not given in *Ordo I*, but appears in *Ordo XI*: n. 34 (*Museum Italicum*, ii, 134). *Cnf.* the directions in the *Ordo* of St. Amand, on p. 163.

[2] This formula is given by Paul the deacon (c. 780) in his Life of St. Gregory, § 23 (S. Gregorii *Opera Omnia*, Benedictine Edition, Paris, 1705; t. iv, p. 10).

¶ *During the Communion of the people, the choir sing the Communion Anthem and Psalm.*

The Choir: Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us, Alleluia : let us therefore keep the feast with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth, Alleluia.

The Subdeacons repeat: Christ our Passover, etc.

The Choir: Ps. 139 ; *beginning where they left off to sing the* Gloria *of the introit.*

The Subdeacons: Christ our Passover, etc.

The Choir: The next verse of the Psalm.

The Subdeacons: Christ our Passover, etc.

And so on to the end or the signal to sing the Gloria.

The Choir: Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.

The Subdeacons: As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end, Amen.

The Choir: Purge out the old leaven that ye may be a new lump, as ye are unleavened.

The Subdeacons: Christ our Passover, etc.

Pontiff. The Lord be with you.

Answer. And with thy spirit.

Pontiff. Let us pray. *And then he says the Post-Communion Collect.*

O Lord, pour forth upon us the spirit of thy love ; that of thy lovingkindness thou mayest make us to be of one mind whom thou hast refreshed and fed with these Easter Mysteries ; through Christ our Lord, etc.

¶ *A deacon then says:*

Go, it is over.

Answer. Thanks be to God.

[*To face page* 178

Appendix III

Appendix FFFF

The Liturgy of the (Civil) Diocese of Africa, at the time of St. Augustine of Hippo, c. 400 A.D.

Proclamation of silence,[1] by the deacon: *Silentium facite!*

The Scripture Lessons—

1. The Prophetic Lesson.[2]
2. The Apostolic Lesson.[3]

The following notes are from the writings of St. Austin (*Opera*, Antwerpiae, 1700–02; 11 volumes in 8), unless otherwise specified.

[1] St. Austin, *De civitate Dei*, Lib. XXII: cap. viii, prope finem: 'Plena erat ecclesia, personabat vocibus gaudiorum . . . Salutavi populum . . . Facto tandem silentio, scripturarum divinarum sunt lecta sollemnia.' But perhaps as this was an extraordinary occasion, there may not usually have been a proclamation for silence: still there was one originally in the Roman rite, and so probably in the African.

[2] Sermo xlv: 'Primam lectionem Isaiae prophetae . . . Deinde adscendit apostolica lectio.' Compare Sermo xl: § 5: 'Quomodo legis Prophetam, Evangelium, Apostolum.' The public reading of the *Iudaeorum codices* is mentioned in Sermones cc: § iii, and ccii: § v. The Lesson is taken from Exodus in Sermo vii, Ezekiel in S. xlvi, Ecclesiasticus in SS. xxxix and ccclix, Isaiah in S. xlv, Proverbs in S. lxxxii: § viii, Susanna in S. cccxliii, Michah in S. xlix. But in other cases there was no Prophetic Lesson, and the service began with the Apostolic Lesson: SS. clxxvi, clxxx, etc.

[3] Sermo clxv: 'Apostolum audivimus, Psalmum audivimus, Evangelium audivimus.' S. xxxii: § 4: 'Ad hoc pertinet quod etiam apostolica lectio ante Psalmum canticum praesignavit.' S. cxii: 'In lectione Apostolica . . . In Psalmo diximus . . . In Evangelio . . .' See also SS. xxxii, cxlvii, cliii, clxxvi, clxxviii, clxxx, clxxxii. Though usually from the Epistles (those of St. Paul, St. Peter, St. James, and St. John are mentioned), the Apostolic Lesson was sometimes (as on Ascension day and Pentecost) from the book of the Acts: SS. cxlviii, cl, cclxv, cclxix.

3. The Psalm.[1]

4. The Gospel.[2]

The Sermon.[3]

The dismissal of the Catechumens[4] and the Prayers of the People.[5]

1. Priest. *Orate pro incredulis ut eos Deus convertat ad fidem.* . .

Deacon.[6] [*Flectamus genua* ?]

The People's Prayer.

[Deacon. *Levate* ?]

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[1] St. Austin frequently refers to the psalm sung between the apostle and gospel. It appears to have been sung responsorially: S. cliii: 'Audivimus, concorditerque respondimus, et Deo nostro, consona voce, cantavimus *Beatus vir.*' See for references to the Psalm SS. xiv, xvii–xix, clxv, clxxvi, cxcviii, cclxvi, cclxix, etc.

[2] References to the reading of the gospel occur in a large proportion of St. Austin's sermons: *e.g.* S. lxxxiii: 'Hesterna die sanctum Evangelium admonuit nos [Matth. xviii, 15] . . . Hodierna etiam die ad ipsam rem pertinet capitulum quod sequitur, quod modo cum legeretur audivimus.' On Good Friday *sollemniter legitur Passio* (S. ccxviii). 'Passio autem quia uno die legitur, non solet legi nisi secundum Matthaeum. Volueram aliquando ut per singulos annos secundum omnes Evangelistas etiam Passio legeretur: factum est; non audierunt homines quod consueverant, et perturbati sunt' (S. ccxxxii). The narrative of the resurrection was read from all the evangelists. On Easter day from St. Matthew, Easter Monday from St. Mark, Tuesday from St. Luke, and Wednesday from St. John (SS. ccxxxii and ccxxxi, ccxxxix, ccxl). S. clxxiii: 'Quando celebramus dies fratrum defunctorum, in mente habere debemus et quid sperandum et quid timendum sit . . . Illud quod audivimus nunc ex Evangelio tenere debemus.'

[3] The majority of St. Austin's sermons were preached just after the gospel: *e.g.* S. xliii: § 9: 'Modo cum Evangelium legeretur audistis,' etc.; S. lv: 'Sancti Evangelii capitulum quod modo cum legeretur audivimus.' The following sermons, amongst others, all refer to the words of the gospel just recited: SS. lxi–ix, lxxiv–vii, ci–vi, cxii–xv, etc., etc.

[4] S. xlix: § v.: 'Ecce post sermonem missa fit catechumenis: manebunt fideles, venietur ad locum orationis.'

[5] Epist. ccxvii: cap. i: n. 2, *ad Vitalem*: 'Exsere contra orationes ecclesiae disputationes tuas, et quando audis sacerdotem Dei ad altare exhortantem populum Dei orare pro incredulis ut,' etc., etc.

[6] Epist. lv: lib. ii: c. xviii: § xxxiv, *ad inquisitiones Ianuarii*: 'Quando autem non est tempus cum in ecclesia fratres congregantur, sancta cantandi, nisi cum legitur aut disputatur, aut antistes clara voce deprecatur, aut communis oratio voce diaconi indicitur?'

PRIEST. *Deus . . . compelle incredulas gentes ad fidem suam venire*[1] . . .

PEOPLE. *Amen.*

2. PRIEST. *Orate pro catechumenis ut eis desiderium regenerationis inspiret Deus*[2] . . .

DEACON. [*Flectamus genua* ?]

THE PEOPLE'S PRAYER.

[DEACON. *Levate* ?]

PRIEST.

PEOPLE. *Amen.*

3. PRIEST. *Orate pro fidelibus, ut in eo, quod esse coeperunt, eius munere perseverent*[3] . . .

DEACON. [*Flectamus genua* ?]

THE PEOPLE'S PRAYER.

[DEACON. *Levate* ?]

PRIEST. . . . *augeatur in eis fides . . . Da illis, Domine, in te perseverare usque in finem*[4] . . .

PEOPLE. *Amen.*

The Offertory,[5] accompanied by the singing of a Psalm.[6]

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[1] Epist. ccxvii *ad Vitalem*: § 26: 'Numquid ubi audieris sacerdotem Dei ad eius altare populum hortantem ad Deum orandum, vel ipsum clara voce orantem, ut incredulas gentes ad fidem suam venire compellat, non respondebis *Amen*?'

[2] Epist. ccxvii: n. 2: 'Orare . . . pro catechumenis ut,' etc.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Liber de haeresibus*, § 87. *De dono perseverantiae*, cap. xxiii: § 63: 'Aut quis sacerdotem super fideles Dominum invocantem, si quando dixit *Da illis, Domine, in te perseverare usque in finem* . . . non . . . respondit *Amen*?'

[5] 'Locuples et dives es, et Dominicum celebrare te credis, quae corbanam omnino non respicis, quae in Dominicum sine sacrificio venis, quae partem de sacrificio quod pauper obtulit, sumis' (St. Cyprian, *De opere et eleemosyne*). So St. Austin, *Enarratio in Ps.* cxxix: § 7: '[Christus] accepit abs te quod offerret pro te: quo modo accipit sacerdos a te, quod pro te offerat quando vis placare Deum pro peccatis tuis.'

[6] *Retractationum*, Lib. II: cap. xi: 'Morem qui tunc esse apud Carthaginem coeperat, ut hymni ad altare dicerentur de psalmum libro, sive ante oblationem, sive cum distribueretur populo quod fuisset oblatum.'

Oratio super oblata.[1]

Sursum cor [2] [or *corda*].

℣ *Habemus ad Dominum.*

Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro.

℣ *Dignum et iustum est.*

The Eucharistic Prayer: Preface: *Vere dignum* [3] . . .

People. *Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus,*[4] . . .

The Eucharistic Prayer [5] continued.

Offerimus pro una ecclesia quae sit in toto terrarum diffusa.[6] . . .

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[1] S. xlix: § 8: 'Manebunt fideles, venietur ad locum orationis.' Epist. cxlix: § 16: 'Precationes . . . quas facimus in celebratione sacramentorum antequam illud, quod est in Domini mensa, incipiat benedici.' S. ccxxvii: 'Tenetis sacramentum ordine suo. Primo post orationem admonemini *sursum* habere *cor*.' St. Cyprian seems to refer to this under the name of the "preface": 'Ideo et sacerdos ante orationem, praefatione praemissa, parat fratrum mentes dicendo *Sursum Corda*,' etc. (*De oratione dominica*, in *Opera*, Oxonii, 1682; p. 152); unless he means thereby the ℣ *Dominus vobiscum* and ℟ *Et cum spiritu tuo* as used in the Roman rite.

[2] Sermo ccxxvii: 'Ideo cum dicitur *Sursum cor*, respondetis *Habemus ad Dominum* . . . Ideo sequitur episcopus vel presbyter qui offert, et dicit, cum responderit populus *Habemus ad Dominum sursum cor*, *Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro*, et vos adtestamini, *Dignum et iustum est* dicentes.' S. cccxi: § 15: 'Audis quotidie homo fidelis *Sursum Cor*.' S. cccxlv. § 4: 'Nam dicitur *Sursum Cor* et continuo respondes *Habemus ad Dominum*.' *De dono perseverantiae*, cap. xiiii, gives both ℣℣ and ℟℟. Compare S. xxv: § 2. S. lxviii: § 5: 'Norunt fideles ubi et quando dicatur *Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro*.' St. Cyprian, *De oratione dominica* (*Opera*, 152): 'Ideo et sacerdos ante orationem, praefatione praemissa, parat fratrum mentes dicendo *Sursum Corda*, ut dum respondet plebs *Habemus ad Dominum*, admoneatur nihil aliud se quam Dominum cogitare debere.' Note that St. Cyprian uses the plural, *corda*; but St. Austin invariably the singular, *cor*.

[3] This is implied by the *Sursum Corda*, etc.

[4] Tertullian, *De oratione*, cap. iii: 'Cur illa angelorum circumstantia non cessant dicere *Sanctus*, *sanctus*, *sanctus*. Proinde igitur et nos angelorum, si meminerimus, candidati iam hinc caelestem illam in Deum vocem, et officium futurae claritatis ediscimus.' St. Austin does not seem to mention it.

[5] Epist. cxlix: § 8: 'Orationes cum benedicitur et sanctificatur [quod est in Domini mensa], et ad distribuendum comminuitur.' *De Trinitate*, Lib. III: cap. iv: § x: 'Corpus Christi et Sanguinem dicimus, quod ex fructibus terrae acceptum et prece mystica consecratum.'

[6] 'Quis dubitet vos illud legitimum in sacramentorum mysterio praeterire non posse? Offere vos Deo, dicitis, pro ecclesia quae una est: hoc ipsum mendacii pars est, unam te vocare de qua feceris duas. Et offerre vos, dicitis, pro una ecclesia

pro salute imperatoris[1] . . .

pro statu saeculi . . . pro rerum quiete . . . pro mora finis.[2]

Commemoration of the Living.[3]

Commemoration of the Martyrs.[4]

Commemoration of the Departed.[5]

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quae sit in toto terrarum orbe diffusa' (Optatus [θ 365], *contra Parmen.* Lib. II). As to the position (whether before or after the words of Institution) and the order of the various intercessions, etc., that follow, nothing appears to be known definitely beyond what is mentioned in these notes. The phrase *in toto terrarum orbe* reminds us of the Roman *Te igitur*, and is of very frequent occurrence in the works of St. Austin. *E. g.* in *De civitate Dei*, Lib. xvi: cap. xxii: 'Ibi quippe primum apparuit sacrificium, quod nunc a Christianis offertur Deo toto orbe terrarum.' And in Epist. xlix: § 2: 'Quoniam ecclesia Dei, quae catholica dicitur, sicut de illa prophetarum est, per orbem terrarum diffusam videmus.' The phrase occurs also in Epp. lii: § 1; lxxxvii: § 1; and cxlii.

[1] 'Sacrificamus pro salute imperatoris, sed Deo nostro et ipsius' (Tertullian, *ad Scapulam*, cap. ii. *Cnf. Apol.* cap. xxxix).

[2] 'Oramus etiam pro imperatoribus, pro ministeriis eorum ac potestatibus, pro statu seculi, pro rerum quiete, pro mora finis' (Tertullian, *Apologeticus*, cap. xxxix). Compare St. Austin, Epist. cxlix: § 17.

[3] St Cyprian, Epist. xvi. (*Opera*, pt. ii, 37): 'Ad communicationem admittuntur, et offertur nomen eorum.' See, too, Epist. lxii, p. 147.

[4] *De sancta virginitate*, cap. xlv: § 46: 'Fidelibus notum est quo loco et quo defunctae sanctimoniales ad altaris sacramenta recitentur.' *De civitate Dei*, Lib. xxii: cap. x: 'Uni deo et martyrum et nostro, sacrificium immolamus, ad quod sacrificium, sicut homines Dei qui mundum in eius confessione vicerunt, suo loco et ordine nominantur, non tamen a sacerdote, qui sacrificat, invocantur.'

[5] S. clix: 'Ideoque habet ecclesiastica disciplina quod fideles noverunt, cum martyres eo loco recitantur ad altare Dei, ubi non pro ipsis oretur: pro ceteris autem commemoratis defunctis oratur.' St. Cyprian, Epistle 1 (*Opera*, Oxonii, 1682; p. 3): 'Ac si quis hoc fecisset, non offertur pro eo, nec sacrificium pro dormitione eius celebraretur. Neque enim apud altare Dei meretur nominari in sacerdotum prece.' St. Austin, S. clxxii: § 2: 'Orationibus vero sanctae ecclesiae, et sacrificio salutari, et eleemosynis, quae pro eorum spiritibus erogantur, non est dubitandum mortuos adiuvari.' Compare *Liber de cura gerenda pro mortuis*, cap. i: § 3: 'Non parva est universae ecclesiae, quae in hac consuetudine claret auctoritas, ubi in precibus sacerdotis quae Domino Deo ad eius altare funduntur, locum suum habet etiam commendatio mortuorum.' Cap. iv: 'Quas [supplicationes] faciendas pro omnibus in christiana et catholica societate defunctis etiam tacitis nominibus eorum sub generali commemoratione suscepit ecclesia.' *Liber de anima et eius origine*, II: cap. xv: § 21: 'Etiam eorum nominibus tacitis quoniam nesciuntur in ecclesia Christi.'

Commemoration of the Passion and Death of our Lord.[1]

Petitions . . . [*ut per ipsam caritatem qua pro nobis Christus crucifigi dignatus est, nos quoque, gratia sancti Spiritus accepta, mundum crucifixum habere et mundo crucifigi possimus: imitantesque Domini nostri mortem, sicut Christus quod mortuus est peccato mortuus est semel, quod autem vivit, vivit Deo; etiam nos in novitate vitae ambulemus et munere caritatis accepto moriamur peccato et vivamus Deo.*[2] . . .

ut in Patre et Filio unum simus.[3] . . .]

Epiclesis.[4]

Conclusion of the Eucharistic Prayer: . . . *in saecula saeculorum.* PEOPLE. *Amen.*[5]

Benedictio episcopi super populum,[6] et absolutio,[7] per manus impositionem.

Benedicat vobis Dominus . . .

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[1] St. Cyprian, Epist. lxiii (*Opera*, 156): 'Passionis eius mentionem in sacrificiis omnibus facimus . . . Quotienscumque ergo calicem in commemorationem Domini et passionis offerimus.' Fulgentius (c. 530), *contra Fabian.*: 'Cum tempore sacrificii commemorationem mortis eius faciamus' (Quoted Palmer, *Origines Liturgicae*, Oxford, 1836; i. 138 *note*).

[2] Fulgentius, quoted Palmer, *op. cit.* 141.

[3] Fulgentius, quoted Palmer, 141.

[4] Optatus, *contra Parmeniano* Lib. VI: 'Altaria Dei . . . in quibus vota populi et membra Christi portata sunt: quo Deus omnipotens invocatus sit, quo postulatus descendit Spiritus Sanctus' (quoted Palmer, *op. cit.* 138). Compare Firmilian's Epistle to St. Cyprian, cap. x: 'Ut et invocatione non contemptibili sanctificare se panem et eucharistiam facere simularet' (Cypriani, *Opera*, pt. ii. p. 223, as Ep. lxxv).

[5] Tertullian, *de Spectaculis*, cap. xxv: 'Quale est . . . ex ore quo *Amen* in sanctum protuleris, gladiatori testimonium reddere, *εἰς αἰῶνας ἀπ' αἰῶνος* alii omnino dicere nisi Deo et Christo?'

[6] Epist. cxlix: § 16: 'Interpellationes autem . . . fiunt cum populus benedicitur. Tunc enim antistites velut advocati, susceptos suos per manus impositionem misericordissime offerunt potestati.'

[7] Optatus: 'Etenim inter vicina monumenta, dum manus imponitis et delicta donatis, mox ad altare conversi Dominicam orationem praetermittere non potestis' (quoted Palmer, *op. cit.* 139.).

Concedatque vobis ut vos abundare faciat in caritate invicem et in omnes . . .

Det vobis secundum divitias gloriae suae virtute corroborari per Spiritum eius . . .

Impleat vos omni gaudio et pace in credendo . . .

Abundetis in spe et potentia Spiritus sancti[1] . . .

PRIEST AND PEOPLE. *Pater noster*[2] *qui es in caelis . . . et dimitte nobis debita nostra*: at which words all beat their breasts:[3] *sicut et nos . . . a malo.*

PRIEST. *Pax vobiscum.*[4]

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[1] The African Benediction seems akin to the Gallican form. The first clause seems implied by the name: but there were apparently different benedictions for different days. Epist. 179: § iv: 'Verum etiam benedictionibus nostris resistitur quando super populum dicimus, optantes eis et poscentes a Domino ut eos abundare faciat in caritate invicem et in omnes, et det eis secundum divitias gloriae suae virtute corroborari per Spiritum eius: et impleat eos omni gaudio et pace in credendo, et abundent in spe et potentia Spiritus sancti.' Perhaps the people responded *Amen* at the end of each petition, as in the Gallican rite.

[2] Sermo ccxxvii: 'Ecce ubi est peracta sanctificatio [sacrificii] dicimus Orationem Dominicam, quae accepistis ac reddistis.' Epist. cxlix: § 16: 'Quam totam petitionem fere omnis ecclesia dominica oratione concludit.' See the quotation from Optatus in note 7, page 186. That all the faithful said the Lord's Prayer seems clear from St. Austin, *De dono perseverantiae*, cap. xxiii: § 63: 'Cum aliud in ipsa oratione dominica non orent fideles, dicentes maxime illud *Ne nos inferas in temptationem*:' although from S. lviii: § 12: 'In ecclesia enim ad altare Dei cottidie dicitur Dominica oratio, et *audiunt* illam fideles,' it might be concluded that the faithful only *heard* (as in the Roman rite), and did not *repeat* the Lord's Prayer.

[3] Sermo cccli: § 6: 'Quod si falsum est, unde cottidie tundimus pectora? quod nos quoque antistites ad altare assistentes cum omnibus facimus. Unde etiam orantes dicimus quod in toto ista vita oportet ut dicamus, *Dimitte nobis debita nostra* . . . Nam si non habemus peccata, et, tundentes pectora, dicimus *Dimitte nobis debita nostra*,' etc.

[4] Sermo ccxxvii: 'Post ipsam [orationem dominicam] dicitur *Pax vobiscum*: et osculantur se Christiani in osculo sancto.' Compare *Enarratio in* Ps. cxxi: § 13: 'Non propter me illam [pacem] praedico, sicut haeretici, qui quaerentes gloriam suam dicunt, *Pax vobiscum*, et pacem non habent quam populis praedicant.' *Enarratio in* Ps. cxxiv: § 13: 'Qui oderunt Ierusalem, qui oderunt pacem . . . qui falsam pacem pronuntiant in populo et non illam habent. Quibus respondetur, cum dixerint *Pax vobiscum*, *Et cum spiritu tuo*.' Optatus also mentions the salutation *Pax vobiscum* (quoted Palmer, *op. cit.* 140).

PEOPLE. *Et cum spiritu tuo.*[1]

The Kiss of Peace.

The Fraction.[2]

The Communion,[3] accompanied by the singing of a Psalm.[4]

The Post-communion thanksgiving.[5]

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[1] Sermo ccxxvii: 'Post ipsam [orationem dominicam] dicitur *Pax vobiscum*, et oscularet se Christiani in osculo sancto.' Tertullian, *De Oratione*, c. xiv: 'Habita oratione cum fratribus, subtrahunt osculum pacis quod est signaculum orationis.'

[2] Epist. cxlix: § 16: 'Orationes cum [quod est in Domini mensa] . . . ad distribuendum comminuitur.' Sermo ccxxxiv: § 2: 'Norunt fideles quod dicam: norunt Christum in fractione panis.'

[3] *Retractationum* Lib. II: cap. xi: 'Cum distribueretur populo quod fuisset oblatum.' Epist. cxlix: § 16: 'Participato sancto sacramento.'

[4] *Ibid.*, 'Morem qui tunc esse apud Carthaginem coeperat ut hymni ad altare dicerentur de psalmorum libro . . . cum distribueretur populo quod fuisset oblatum.'

[5] Epist. cxlix: § 16: 'Quibus peractis, et participato sancto sacramento, gratiarum actio cuncta concludit.'

INDEX

TO THE TEXT AND NOTES

Ablutions, 112.
Absolution by imposition of hands, 186.
Accidents to the Blessed Sacrament, 112.
Acies, 126, 136.
Acolythi qui rugam observant, 39, 146.
Acolythus, *acolitus*, 38, 116, 118, 120, 122, 124, 128, 132, 134, 138, 140, 142, 146. See *Collet*.
Acolythus Stationarius, 118.
Acontius, sexton of St. Peter's, 54.
Acts of the Apostles, 77, 181.
Acts of the Martyrs, 44.
Acus, 124, 126.
Adrian, *scriniarius*, 46.
Advocates, 53, 122, 123.
Aedituus, 54.
Africa, Church of, 74, 110, 113, 181.
Agapitus, a deaf mute, 111.
Agatho, Pope, 5, 48.
Agnellus, biographer of the bishops of Ravenna, xv, xviii, 26, 31, 43.
Agnes, Church of St., 21.
Agnus Dei, 4, 5, 6, 47, 62, 109, 140, 159, 177.
Alb, 29, 30.
Albano, Bishop of, 33.
Alexander III, Pope, 10.
Alexandria, Church of, 19.
Alleluia, The, 29, 41, 59, 68, 74, 78, 79, 130, 131, 156, 170, 171.
Almoner, the Pope's, 49, 122, 123.
Alms and Collections of money, 112 *sq.*
Altar, 18 *sq.*, 124 *sq.*, 154 *sq.*
—— cloth, 19, 156.
—— golden, 19.
—— High, at St. Peter's in the Vatican, 19.
—— of St. Peter, in the Lateran Basilica, 5, 6, 19, 33.
—— silvern, 19.
—— wooden, 18, 19.
Ama, 25, 120.
Amalar, author of a treatise *De officiis ecclesiasticis*, the third volume of which is *De officio missae*, 7, 8, 18, 26, 29, 73.
Amand, St., en Puelle, *Ordo Romanus* of, 4, 19, 20, 29, 30, 37, 38, 45, 54, 107, 109, 114, 153 *sq.*, 164.
Ambo, xv, xvi, xviii, xix, 21, 22 *sq.*, 29, 46, 59, 75, 77, 78, 130, 131, 132, 133, 155, 156.
Ambrose, St., 103.
Amice, *Amictus*, 29, 30, 124, 125, 153.
Ammianus Marcellinus, historian, 13.
Ampliatus, presbyter and *vicedominus*, 43.
Amula, a flask, 25, 60, 134.
Anagolaium, 124. See *Amice*.
Anaphora, 89.
—— of SS. Adai and Mari, 102.
—— of the Ethiopic Church Ordinances, 90.
Anastasius, chancellor, 46.
Anastasius, district-notary, 46.
Anastasius, Pope, 36.
Andrew, Church of St., 21, 22.
Angelical Hymn, 71, 90, 138, 139.
Anterus, St., Pope, 44.
Anthem at the Communion, 64, 144 160, 178.
—— —— Entry, 64, 127, 128, 129, 154, 169.
—— —— Offertory, 88, 136, 137, 156, 172, 183.
Anthemius, subdeacon, 52.
Antioch, 20.
Antiphonal Psalms, 64, 88.
Apocalypse, The, 12, 22.
Apollinare Nuovo, St. Ravenna, xix.
Apollinaris, St., in Classe, Ravenna, xviii, 20.
Apostolic Canons, 85.
Apostolic Constitutions, Liturgy of the, 77, 91, 105.
Apostolic Lesson, Apostle, or Epistle, 73, 74, 76, 77, 120, 155, 170, 181.

Apse, xvi, xviii, 58.
Aquamanus, 120. See *Washhand-bason.*
Arche, 134.
Archichorister, 41.
Archidiaconus, Archdeacon, 32, 60–63, 82, 116, 117, 121, 124, 128, 132–135, 137, 143, 146–149, 156–161.
Archiparaphonista, 41, 126.
Archipresbyter, known later as the Dean, 58, 128, 129, 154, 163.
Aregius, Bishop of Gap, 28.
Arles, 70.
Armenians, Liturgy of the, 93.
Arrian, disciple of Epictetus, 67.
Ascension Day, 158, 176, 181.
Assistant presbyter, 18.
Athanasius, St., 18, 19.
Athanasius, Archbishop of Naples, 102.
Aumbry, 129.
Aurelius, reader, 75.
Ausonius, poet, 10.
Austin, St., Bishop of Hippo, 19, 44, 65, 66, 74, 75, 78, 84, 86, 88, 104, 105, 110, 111, 181 *sq.*

Bacchia, 162.
Bagaja, 19.
Baiuli, 120, 122, 146.
Baptism, 82, 84, 120, 121.
Basilica, 9 *sq.*, 15–17, 32.
Bearers, *Baiuli*, 121, 123, 147.
Beating of the breast, 187.
Beleth, 109.
Belisarius, 17.
Bells, 54.
Bench, 125.
Benedict and Scholastica, Relics of SS., 93, 94.
Benedict (Celestine II), *Ordo Romanus* of, 109.
Benediction of the Fruits of the Earth, 97, 98, 175, 176.
—— of the Clergy, etc., 146.
—— of the Faithful during Mass, 186.
Benedictus, *scriniarius*, 46.
Benedictus qui venit, 90 *sq.*
—— as a greeting to the Bishop, 91, 92, 94.
—— as a greeting to the Emperor, 93.
—— as a greeting to our Lord in the Eucharist, 94.
Bennet II, Pope, 21, 35.
—— XIV, xvi.
Berno, Abbot of Reichenau, 72, 80.
Bethlehem, 14, 106.
Bishop, Edmund, 66–70, 100, 101.
Bishops, as Arbitrators, 12.
Bishops, Hebdomadary, 33, 58, 59, 61, 122, 123, 128, 129, 131, 134–137, 140–142, 145–149, 155, 158–160, 162–4.
—— —— The Chief, *i. e.* the Bishop of Ostia, 33, 62, 138, 139, 142, 143, 154.
Blessed are those that are undefiled, 159.
Blessing. See *Benediction.*
Boniface I, Pope, 17.
Boniface V, Pope, 38.
Boniface, St., Apostle of Germany, 47.
Boniface, a correspondent of St. Austin, 19.
Bowl, for the Communion (*Scyphus*), 62, 120, 121, 134, 135, 142, 143, 157–160, 162.
Burbidge, Edward, 96–98.
Byzantine Emperor, 31.
—— Rite, 105.

Caesarius, St., of Arles, 28, 31.
Cakes, 162.
Caligula, Emperor, 48.
Calix, chalice, 24, 120 *sq.* See *Chalice.*
—— *maior*, 120, 134.
—— *ministerialis*, 25.
Calixtus II, Pope, 72.
Candidus, presbyter, 52.
Candles, 9–11, 14, 15 *sq.*, 39, 45, 58, 59, 127.
Candlesticks, 12, 15 *sq.*, 121, 128, 129, 132, 133, 146, 147, 154–156, 162.
Canon of the Mass, 5, 96 *sq.*, 138, 139, 148, 149, 158, 173–5.
Canon 82 of the Synod of London in 1603, 20.
Canopy over the altar, xv, xvi, xviii, 20, 21.
Cantatorium, grail, the book containing the anthems sung at Mass, 120, 130.
Cantor, 130.
Cappadocian customs, 105.
Capsa, 132.
Cardinal deacons, 34.
Cardinal presbyters, 149.
Case of the Gospels'-book, 133.
Cassander, 3.
Cassian, St., Church of, 15.
Castorius, notary, 45.
Casula, 28.
Catacombs, 14.
Catinum, 162.
Celerinus, reader, 75.
Celestine, Pope, 26, 64, 71.
Cemetery oratories, 55, 108.
Censer, xv, xviii, 4, 17, 18, 38, 58, 59, 123, 126–133, 154, 161.
Cereostata. See *Candlesticks.*

Cereostatarii, 146.
Chalice, 20, 24 *sq.*, 49, 60–63, 92, 104, 121 *sq.*, 156 *sq.*
—— of Gourdon, xvi.
—— The stational, 156.
Chamberlain, Lay, 123.
Chamberlains, 120–123, 162.
Chancellor, 35, 44, 46, 61, 119, 125, 132–137, 141–145, 157, 160, 162.
Chancery of the Roman See, 44.
Charles the Great, 8, 33, 80, 93.
Chief Bishop, 33, 62, 138, 139, 142, 143, 154.
—— Counsellor, 46, 124, 126, 132–137, 140–143, 160.
—— Ewer, 160.
—— Notary, 35. See *Chancellor*.
—— Sexton, 121, 162.
Choir, 63, 88, 71, 127, 137, 154–162.
—— (the place), 129, 137.
—— Communion of the, 161.
Chorister, 131.
Chrisma, 84, 118, 120.
Christmas, The midnight mass of, 71.
Christopher, *notarius* and *scriniarius*, 46.
Chrysogonus, St., Church of, 21.
Chrysostom, Liturgy of St., 92, 94.
Ciborium. See *Canopy*.
Cicero, 9, 47.
Cingulum, 124.
Clavus, xv, xvi, xvii, 28.
Cleaning the church, 53.
Clement, Church of St., xviii, xix, 23.
Clement, St., Pope, 44.
Clementine Liturgy, 95.
Clergy, the number of the, at Rome in 251 A.D., 39.
Clerical Chamberlain, 125.
Clovis, King, 25.
Code of Justinian, 12, 50.
—— of Theodosius, 12, 27, 32.
Codex Evangeliorum, 132.
Colatorium, 25, 120.
Collect, 59, 66, 67, 72 *sq.*, 131, 147, 155, 162, 170.
Collections of money, 99, 112, 113.
College of Counsellors, 49 *sq.*
—— Notaries, 43 *sq.*
—— Singers, 40 *sq.*
Collet, 38–40, 58, 59, 107, 119–125, 128, 129, 132–135, 140–147, 154–165.
Colobium, 28.
Colum, 134.
Commemoration of the Departed, 100, 175, 185.
—— —— Living, 99, 173, 185.
—— —— Martyrs, 175, 185.
—— —— Passion, 186.
Commixture, 140, 143, 159, 177.
Communicantes et diem, 97, 173.
Communion, 143, 159, 163, 188.
—— Anthem and Psalm, 63, 145, 160, 178, 188.
—— Bowls, 121. See *Scyphus*.
—— of the People, 63, 111 *sq.*
Concelebration, 113, 149, 158.
Conclusion of the Eucharistic Prayer, 186.
Conditorium, 128.
Confession, xvi, 17, 22, 135.
Confirmare, to administer the chalice, 142 *sq.*
Confirmation, 85.
Conon, Pope, 4.
Consecration, Form of, 102.
Constantine the Great, 10, 12, 13, 15, 31.
—— —— Donation of, 13, 31.
—— II, 19, 31.
—— III, 20.
—— VI, and Irene, 10.
—— VII, Porphyrogenitus, 10.
—— sexton, 53.
Constantinople, Church of, 68, 78, 104, 105.
Consular diptychs, 31.
Coptic Jacobites, Liturgy of, 93, 94.
Cornelius, Pope, 39, 113.
—— Sepulchre of, xvii, xviii.
Corn-offering, 85.
Corona, loaf used at the Eucharist, 87, 107.
Corporale, corporas, 19, 60, 114, 132, 133, 148, 149, 156, 158.
Cosin, John, Bishop of Durham, 108.
Cosmas and Damian, SS., 174.
—— —— Church of, 21.
Council of Carthage, 91.
—— of Rome, 4, 36, 41.
—— of Vaison, 67–69.
—— Seventh General, 10.
Counsellor, 49 *sq.*, 118 *sq.* See *Chief Counsellor*.
Country Churches, 107.
Counts, 160.
Cream, 119, 121.
Creed of Nicaea and Constantinople 80 *sq.*
Cremona, 18.
Cross, Sign of the, 8, 61, 136–139, 144, 147–149, 157, 161.
Crossbearers, 146.
Cubicularii, 41 *sq.*
Cubicularius laicus, 42, 120.
—— *tonsoratus*, 124.
Cubiculum, 42.

Custos chori, 41.
—— *ecclesiae*, 54.
Cyprian, St., Bishop of Carthage, xvii, 75, 84, 86, 99, 106, 183–186.
—— deacon, 52.
Cyril, St., of Jerusalem, 92.

Daily paten, 120, 121.
Dalmatic, 28, 30, 37, 153, 154.
—— greater, 124, 125.
—— linen, 124, 125.
Damasus, St., Pope, 13, 68, 74, 78, 96, 98.
Days on which each district serves, 116, 117.
Deacon, 34 *sq.*, 58, 63, 76, 82, 86, 118, 119, 124 *sq.*, 153 *sq.*, 182, 183.
—— attendant, 134, 135.
—— consecrates the Chalice, 103.
—— District, 34, 36, 44, 116, 117, 128, 129.
—— forbidden to chaunt anything save the Gospel, 36, 41.
—— Planet of the, 29, 37.
—— Roman, 30, 34, 36.
—— Second, 61, 62, 128, 129, 136–139, 140, 143.
Decentius, Bishop of Eugubium, 85, 99, 107.
Defensor, 49 *sq.* See *Counsellor.*
—— *civitatis*, 49 *sq.*
—— *regionarius*, 52. See *District-Counsellor.*
Denis, Abbot of St., 46.
Departed, Memento of, 100 *sq.*, 175, 185.
Diaconia, 34, 35, 122. See *Hostelry.*
Diaconiae Dispensator, 35.
—— *Pater*, 34, 35.
Diaconus (plural forms, *Diacones* and *Diaconi*). See *Deacon.*
—— *minor*, 140.
—— *qui sequitur*, 134.
—— *regionarius*. See *District-Deacon.*
Dies fratrum defunctorum, 182.
Diptychs, 101.
—— at Naples, 102.
Disapproval of preaching, 80.
Dismissals, 63, 81 *sq.*, 144, 147, 161, 178.
—— of Catechumens, 171.
—— of non-communicants, 82, 171.
Dispensator diaconiae, 35.
District clergy, 119.
—— counsellors. See *Counsellor.*
—— notaries. See *Notary.*
—— officials, 132, 133, 157.
District subdeacons. See *Subdeacons.*
Districts of Rome, Ecclesiastical, 116, 117.
Doctrine of the Apostles, 84.
Doge of Venice, 10.
Domestic Notaries, 43.
Dominicum, 183.
Dominus vobiscum, 73, 132, 136, 144.
Donatists, 19.
Doorwarden, 125.
Duchesne, L., 3, 24–26, 30–34, 65, 69, 70, 87, 97, 98, 176.

Easter Day, 72, 79, 148, 149, 158, 169.
Easter Even, 14, 158.
Eastertide, 68, 78, 79.
Egyptian Rite, 91, 105.
Eisodikon, 92.
Elevation, 61.
Embolism, the prayer after *Pater noster* at the end of the canon, 61, 139, 177.
Epiclesis, 98, 99, 102, 175, 186.
Epictetus, 67.
Episcopi hebdomadarii, 33. See *Bishop.*
Episcopium Lateranense, 4.
Epistle, The Liturgical, 73 *sq.*, 131, 155, 170, 181.
—— to the Hebrews, 112.
Epistles, Book of the, 120, 121.
Epistoler, 59, 131, 155.
Ethiopic Church Ordinances, 90.
Eucharistic Prayer, 89, 184.
—— Sacrifice, 83.
Eulogius, Patriarch of Alexandria, 63.
Eusebius, historian, 113.
Eutropius, chief chamberlain, 19.
Evangelia maiora, 120, 124.
Evangelium, the Book of the Gospels, 120, 121, 124, 125, 128, 131–133, 153, 155, 156.
Evaristus, Pope, 54.
Evodius, correspondent of St. Austin, 44.
Ewer, 137, 157, 158, 160, 161. See *Fons*: generally a jug, but in the *Ordo* of St. Amand a vessel closely akin to a chalice.
Exsuperius, district-notary, 46.

Fabian, Pope, 44.
Fabiola, 79.
Fabius, bishop of Antioch, 39.
Faldstool, 129.
Father of the Hostelry, 123.
Felix, Church of St., 16, 17.
—— IV, pope, 31.
Fermentum, 54, 55, 106 *sq.*, 146, 147, 163

Filioque clause, 81.
Filum, a file or row of persons, 132, 144.
Firmilian, St., 89, 186.
Flagons, 121.
Flask, 135, 156, 157, 159. See *Ama*, *Amula*.
Fleury, Abbé, author of *Les Moeurs des Chrestiens*, 65.
Florus Magister, 99.
Fons, 136. See *Ewer*.
Form of admitting to office of *Defensor S.R.E.*, 52.
Fourth of the Choir, 127.
Fraction, 4, 61, 62, 140, 141, 159, 163, 188.
Frescoes, 14, 15.
Fulgentius, 186.

Gallican customs, 27, 101, 104, 106, 110.
Gallicanisms, 96.
Gates, 24, 39, 146, 147. See *Ruga*, *Regia*.
Gelasian Sacramentary, 5, 69, 70, 100.
Gelasius, St., Pope, 102.
Gemella, 26.
Gemelliones, 25, 120, 121.
Gemmae, 120.
George, Church of St., Thessalonica, 20.
Gerbert, 100.
Gervase and Protase, Church of SS., 15.
Girdle, 30, 125.
Glass patens, 114.
Gloria in excelsis Deo, 5, 6, 33, 59, 71, 72, 130, 131, 148, 149, 155, 162, 170.
Good Friday, 182.
Gordianus, senator, and father of St. Gregory I, xvii, 28.
Gospel, The Liturgical, 73 *sq.*, 132, 133, 156, 162, 171, 182.
—— —— standing at, 36.
—— book, xv, xvii, 10, 11, 58, 59, 120, 121, 124, 125, 128, 131–133, 153, 155, 156.
—— lights, 14, 18, 132, 133, 156.
Gospeller, 59, 124, 125, 130–133, 153, 154–156, 161.
Gout, St. Gregory suffers from, 63.
Grail, the book containing the anthems sung at mass, called at Rome *Cantatorium*, and in Gaul, *Graduale*, 59, 120, 121, 130, 131, 156.
—— the responsorial psalm sung between the Epistle and Gospel at mass, 40, 64, 73, 78, 130, 131, 156, 170, 182.
Grape-offering, 85.
Gratian, Emperor, 10.
Greater Chalice, 134, 135, 141, 142, 160. See *Calix* and *Chalice*.
Greek customs, 68, 69, 105.
Gregorian Sacramentary, 100.
Gregory I, St., called the Great, Pope, xvii, 4, 5, 21, 28, 30–32, 36, 40, 41, 45, 46, 48, 50, 52, 53, 63, 68–71, 78–80, 82, 86, 87, 96, 104–106, 110, 111, 113, 171.
—— II, 19, 32, 35, 47.
—— III, 4, 21, 25, 35, 38.
—— IV, 24, 25.
—— district notary, 49.
—— of Nazianzum, 13.
—— of Tours, 93.

Hadrian I, Pope, 10, 19, 21, 25, 35, 46, 47, 93.
Hanc igitur oblationem, 97, 100, 174.
Hebdomadary bishops, 33. See *Bishops*.
—— presbyters, 34, 136, 137.
Heliodora, *orante*, xvi.
Henry II, Emperor, crowned February 14, 1014 A.D., 80.
Heraclius, Emperor, xviii.
Hilarus, Pope, 15, 17, 26, 33.
Hilary, tribune, 88.
Hippo, Church of, 104.
Hippolytus, Church of St., 15.
Hittorp, 53.
Holy, holy, holy, 139. See *Sanctus*.
Holy Element, 129, 159, 160. See *Sancta*.
—— Orders, 36 *sq.*
Honey and Milk, 97.
Honorius I, Pope, 21.
—— II, 35.
Horace, 9.
Hormisda, Pope, 25.
Hostelries, 34 *sq.*, 122, 123. See *Diaconia*.
—— Father of the, 34, 35, 122, 123.

Iconstasis, 24. See *Screen*.
Ignatius, St., 84, 86, 108.
Image of St. Peter, 17.
Incense, 9–12, 17 *sq.*, 126–129, 131, 132.
Infantes chori, 40. See *Choir*.
Innocent I, Pope, 15, 55, 85, 99, 107, 110.
—— III, 109, 111.
Introit, 58, 64, 154, 169.
Invitationer, 47 *sq.*, 118, 119, 140 141, 144, 145. See *Nomenclator*.
Invitations to breakfast, 62, 161.

Invocation of the Holy Ghost, 102. See *Epiclesis*.
Ite, missa est, 144.
Iudaeorum codices, 181.
Iudices, 9.

Jerome, 14, 36, 44, 68, 79, 85, 87, 98, 106.
Jerusalem, Church of, 71, 78, 106, 112.
—— Vigil service at, 11, 14.
—— Procession at, 91, 92.
John, bishop of Avranches, 109.
—— —— Syracuse, 30, 68.
—— Chrysostom, St., 20.
—— deacon, 6th century, 39, 79.
—— —— 9th century, 32, 40, 111.
—— —— 13th century, 53, 109.
—— V, Pope, 35.
—— treasurer, 47.
Judges, 160, 161.
Julian and Ia, marriage of, 11.
Julius, Pope, 44.
Justin I, Emperor, xv.
Justin Martyr, 65, 67, 77, 79, 89, 110, 113.
Justinian, Emperor, xv, 51.
Juvenal, 16.

Karl, the Great. See *Charles*.
Karlomann, 93.
Kiss of peace at the introit, 7, 58, 128, 129, 154, 162.
—— —— before communion, 61, 110, 138, 139, 161, 163, 188.
Kissing the altar, 59, 128, 129.
—— gospel-book, 59, 60, 128, 131–133, 155, 156.
—— paten, 138, 139.
—— pope's feet, 130, 131.
Kyrie eleison, 5, 37, 59, 64 *sq.*, 130, 131, 155, 162, 170.

Lamps, 15, 16, 53, 54.
Lateran, 4–6, 15, 17, 19, 20, 22, 26, 33, 35, 38, 40, 42, 43, 109, 118–121, 132, 133.
—— Synod of, in 643, 46.
Laurence, St., 16, 103.
—— Church of, 21.
Lavatory, 60, 134, 135, 144, 145, 156, 157.
—— second, 161.
Legg, J. Wickham, 77.
Leo I, St., Pope, 78, 80, 81.
—— III, 15, 17, 18, 20, 21, 26, 33, 41, 45, 49, 80.
—— IV, 18, 33.
—— VII, 73.
—— VI, Emperor, xvii.
Leo, deacon, 43.
Leonine Sacramentary, 87, 89.
Leontius, district notary, 46.
Liber Mandatorum, 9, 10.
—— *Pontificalis*, 4 *sq.*, quoted passim. Footnote references to the Lives of the Popes in it are not given except in a few special cases.
Libera nos, quaesumus, the Embolism, 177.
Lights, 15 *sq.* See *Candles, Candlesticks, Gospel-lights, Lamps*.
—— at the lessons of Mattins, 15, 16.
—— in honour of Martyrs, 14.
Linea or *lineum*, 30, 124, 125.
Linen cloth, *sindon*, 118–121, 134, 135, 138, 139, 156–158.
Linen sack or bag, 60, 62. See *Sack*.
Linteum villosum, 30, 42.
Litany, 37, 66, 67, 71.
Liturgical costume, 26 *sq.*
Liturgy of Africa, c. 400, 181 *sq.*
Loaf, the Eucharistic, 60, 85–87, 103, 104, 114, 134–141, 148, 149, 156–159, 163.
Loaves or cakes (*pastilli*), 162.
Lord, have mercy upon us, 130, 131, 155, 170. See *Kyrie eleison*.
Lorum, 31.
Ludwig, Emperor, 93.
Luxurious bishops, 13.

Mabillon, 8, 54, 90, 99, 111.
Macarius, 19.
Magnates, 143, 145, 160. See *Senatorium*.
Majordomo, 42, 43, 122, 123.
Maniple, 30.
Mansionarii, sextons, 53 *sq.*, 120–123.
—— *iuniores*, 146.
Mappula (maniple), xvii, 30, 31, 118, 119, 126, 127.
—— (saddle-cloth), 30.
Marcellinus and Peter, Church of SS., 17.
—— —— —— Cemetery of, xvi, xvii.
Marcellus, Pope, 54.
Marcus, St., Pope, 33.
Marriage before a *Defensor ecclesiae*, 51.
Martial, poet, 43.
Martin I, Pope, 46.
—— II, 46.
Mary *ad Martyres*, Church of St., 21.
—— in Cosmedin, Church of St., 23.
—— *in Via Lata*, Church of St., 24.
—— Major, Church of St., xv, 21, 26, 33, 71, 120, 121, 169.
Mass, beginning with the Epistles of St. Paul, 64.

Mass, lasting three hours, 63.
—— of Christmas at midnight, 71, 72.
—— of the Catechumens, 77, 81, 171, 182.
—— —— faithful, 77, 182.
—— with no deacon, 162.
—— without the Pope, 146, 147, 162.
Maur, bishop of Ravenna, 31.
Maximianus, bishop of Ravenna, xv.
Maximus, prefect, 44.
Melchiades, Pope, 107.
Memento, Domine, . . . quorum tibi fides, 99, 100, 173.
Memento etiam Domine . . . qui nos praecesserunt, 100 *sq.*, 175.
Memento for the departed omitted on Sundays, 100, 101, 175.
Men's side of the Church, 76, 157.
Men singers, 126, 127.
Merolanas, ad, Place called, 120, 121.
Michael Palaeologus, Emperor, xvii.
Micrologus, 72, 73, 76, 95.
Military banner-bearers, 147.
Milites draconarii, 146.
Minor Orders, 39.
Missal of Mathias Flaccus Illyricus, 110.
Mommsen, Theodore, 9.
Monachi, 146. See *Monks*.
Monks, 34, 35, 42, 146, 147.
Mosaics, xv, xvi, xviii, 4, 11, 12, 14.
Mozarabic rite, 96, 97.

Names of the Living omitted on Sundays, 99, 100.
—— of those offering, 99.
Napkin, or handkerchief, 30, 119, 127. See *Mappula*.
Nereus and Achilleus, Basilica of SS., xvi.
Nestorian Liturgy, 83, 85, 102.
New beans, Blessing of, 97.
—— grapes, —— 97.
Nobis quoque peccatoribus, 98, 138, 139, 175.
Nomenclator (*nomencalator*, *nomenculator*), 5, 47 *sq.*, 118, 119, 140, 141, 144, 145.
Notables, 135. See *Senatorium*.
Notae, 43, 44.
Notaries, 32, 33, 43 *sq.*, 61, 118–121, 124, 125, 132, 133, 136, 137, 140, 141, 157, 160, 161.
—— District, 45 *sq.* See *Notaries*.
—— of the Roman See, 45.
Notary of the Papal Vicar, 141.
Notarii regionarii. See *District-notaries*.
Notariorum Primicerius. See *Chancellor*.
—— *Secundicerius*. See *Secretary*.
—— *Schola*. See *College of Notaries*.
Notarius Vicedomini, 140.
Notitia dignitatum imperii Romani, 9, 48.
Novellae of Justinian, 50, 51.

Oblatae, the loaves offered at the Eucharist, 134, 136, 138, 140, 148.
Oblationarius. See *Subdeacon-oblationer*.
Oblationes, 134, 140.
Oceanus, correspondent of St. Jerome, 79.
Oeconomus, 42.
Offerings, 135, 157.
—— of the clergy, 137, 157.
Offertory, 60, 82 *sq.*, 134, 139, 156, 157, 183.
—— anthem and psalm, 60, 88, 136, 137, 156, 158, 172, 183.
—— veil, 60, 61, 136–139, 165.
Oil for the sick, 97.
O Lamb of God, 141, 143. See *Agnus Dei*.
Omophorium, 32.
Optatus, xviii, 185–187.
Orarium, 30, 32.
Oratio, the Collect, 67, 72, 130, 170. See *Collect*.
—— *post communionem*, 112, 144, 145, 161, 178.
—— *super oblata*, 87, 137, 172, 184.
Oratorium, a faldstool, 128.
Oratories, 55.
Oratory of St. Peter in the Lateran, 19.
—— the Holy Cross, 17.
Ordo Romanus I, 3 *sq.*, passim.
—— —— Date of, 7.
—— —— Text of, 116 *sq.* (even numbers).
—— —— Translation of, 117 *sq.* (odd numbers).
—— —— and the St. Amand *Ordo*, Differences between, 164, 165.
—— —— II, 7, 8, 18, 76, 78, 90.
—— —— III, 3, 30, 130.
—— —— VII, 81.
—— —— VIII, 71.
—— —— IX, 37, 41.
—— —— X, 111.
—— —— XI, 177.
—— —— of Einsiedeln, 45, 109.
—— —— of St. Amand, 3, 20, 29, 30, 37, 38, 54, 109, 114.
—— —— —— Translation of, 153 *sq.*
Oriental customs, 110.
Orphanotrophium, 40.
Ostia, Bishop of, 31, 33.
Ostiarius, 124.

Paenula, xv, xvi, 27.
Palatine deacons, 35.
—— judges, 53.
—— subdeacons, 38.
Palfrey, The pope's, 122–125.
Pall, The pope's, 124, 125.
—— Silken, worn by the patener, 158.
Palla corporalis, 146. See *Corporale.*
Pallium, 45, 124, 156. See *Pall.*
—— *altaris*, 19, 20, 156. See *Altar-cloth.*
—— the Episcopal, xv, xvii, 28, 30, 31, 45. See *Pall.*
—— *linostimum* (maniple), 30.
Palm Sunday, 91.
Pancras, Church of St., 21, 32.
Pantaleon, notary, 45.
Papal Vestry, 121.
—— Vicar, 42, 43, 120, 121, 140, 141, 162. See *Vicedominus.*
Paraphonistae, 40, 41, 126. See *Singers.*
Paratorium, 142.
Pars feminarum, 134.
—— *mulierum*, 134, 144.
Pascha, 79.
Paschal, Pope, 17, 46.
Paschalis, chancellor, 49.
—— notary, 46.
Paschasius, notary, 46.
Passion, Account of, read on Good Friday, 182.
—— Commemoration of, in the mass, 186.
Pastilli, little loaves, 162.
Paten, 6, 20, 24, 49, 61, 62, 138–141, 143, 158–160.
Patena cottidiana, 120.
—— *maior*, 120.
Patener, 138, 139, 144, 145, 165.
Patener's veil, 6. See *Offertory veil.*
Pater diaconiae, 34, 35, 122.
Pater noster, 68, 69, 103 *sq.*, 176, 187.
Patriarchium Lateranense, 4, 118, 120.
Patrimony of St. Peter, 113.
—— of the Roman Church, 50.
Paul, St., 86, 112.
—— Church of, 21, 120, 121.
—— I, Pope, 42.
—— the Deacon, biographer of St. Gregory, 110, 177.
—— —— *vicedominus*, 43.
Paulinus, St., of Nola, 11, 16, 24, 54.
Pax, the, or Kiss of Peace, 61, 110, 128, 138, 177, 187. See *Kiss of Peace.*
Pax vobis, 73.
Peace of the Church, 10, 13, 14, 18, 19.
People's part in public worship, 5.
—— prayers, 66.
Per ipsum, 97, 176.
Per quem haec omnia, 97, 138, 139, 176.
Peter, St., 54, 82.
—— Church of, in the Vatican, 23, 37, 40, 54.
—— *defensor*, 51.
—— subdeacon, 52.
Petitions in the African Liturgy, 186.
Pictures, 14, 15.
Pins, 125, 127.
Pippin, 47, 93.
Planet, 28, 37, 58, 124–129, 132–135, 138, 139, 144, 145, 153, 154, 156, 162.
Planeta revoluta, 126.
Pogium, 132.
Pontiff's lights, 154, 164.
Pope's offering, 25.
Porto, Bishop of, 33.
Post-communion collect, 63, 112, 145, 161, 178, 188.
Post pridie, 97.
Praetorian notaries, 43.
Prayers for the Church, 66.
—— of the Faithful, 60, 66. See the next.
—— of the People, 65 *sq.*, 182, 183.
—— over the Offerings, 172. See *Oratio super Oblata.*
Precentor, 29, 41, 64, 127, 129, 145, 154. See *Primicerius Scholae Cantorum.*
Preface, 89 *sq.*, 173, 184.
Prefects, 9, 16.
Preneste, Bishop of, 33.
Preparation of the Offering, 136, 137, 157.
Presbyter, 58, 59, 62, 122, 123, 130, 131, 134–149, 157–164.
—— cardinal, 148.
—— subordinate to the presbyter of the Title, 54, 122, 123.
Presbyters and *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, 72, 148, 149, 162, 170.
Presbytery, 122–129, 134, 135, 138, 139, 144–147, 153–162.
Prex, the Canon, 99. See *Canon.*
Priest, term inclusive of bishops and presbyters, 154, 160, 161.
Priesthood, The Royal, 3, 82.
Primicerius defensorum, 124, 132, 134, 136, 140, 142, 144. See *Chief Counsellor.*
—— *notariorum* (under the Empire), 44.
—— —— (of the Roman Church), 44, 46, 118, 124, 132, 134, 136, 140, 142. See *Chancellor.*
—— *scholae cantorum*, 41. See *Precentor.*
Primus scholae, 41, 144. See *Precentor.*

Prior scholae, 41, 126, 128, 130. See *Precentor*.
Prisca constitutio (*vel statutio*), 7, 118.
Probst, Dr. F., 6, 7.
Procession of the Gospel-book, 125, 153.
Proclamation of Silence, 76, 181.
Prokeimenon of the Epiphany, 92.
Prophetic lesson, 23, 73, 74, 181.
Provincial bishops, 13.
Prudentiana, Church of St., 19.
Prudentius, poet, 15, 16, 43, 54.
Psalm, The responsorial, 73–75, 77, 78, 130, 131, 156, 170 *sq.*, 182.
Psalms of David, 64, 88.
Pseudo-Ambrose, 87, 98, 110.
—— Celestine, 65.
—— Jerome, 74.
Pugillares, 14, 25, 120, 142. *See Reeds*.
Pure offering, 87, 175.

QUAM OBLATIONEM, 97, 174.
Quartus scholae, 41, 126, 128.
Quattuor coronatorum Martyrum, Church of, 18.

RAVELLO, XV.
Ravenna, xv, xviii, xix, 87.
—— Archbishop of, xviii, xix, 45.
—— Mosaics at, xv, xviii, 4, 11, 20, 28, 30.
Reader, 75.
Recital of the names of the Living, 99.
Rector chori, 41.
Reeds, 111, 121, 143. See *Pugillares*.
Reforms of Pope Stephen III, 6, 7.
Regia secretarii, 126.
Regiones ecclesiasticae urbis Romae, 116, 117, 132, 133.
Relative position of the Chalice and Host, 26, 60.
Reparatus, Archbishop of Ravenna, xviii, xix, 31.
Respond, 23, 40, 59, 130, 132, 156, 170, 171, 182.
Responsorial Psalm. See *Respond*.
Responsorial singing, 78, 182.
Richard Cœur de Lion, 10.
Romano-Gallic rite, 5.
Rossi, G. B. de, xvii, xviii.
Rufina, Bishop of St., 33.
Ruga, *regia*, a gate, 24, 146.
Ruler of the Choir, 41, 127, 129 See *Archiparaphonista*.

SABINA, BISHOP OF, 33.
Sabinus, *defensor*, 52.
Saccellarius, 47, 118, 120, 140, 144. See *Treasurer*.
Sacculi, 118, 120. See *Sacks*.
Sacks, 104, 119, 121, 141, 163.
Sacrament of Unity, 108, 109.
Sacrarium, 118, 120. See *Sacristy*.
Sacred vessels, 24. See *Vasa*, *Vessels*.
Sacring, 103, 158, 163.
Sacristan, 47, 49, 119, 121. See *Vestiarius*.
Sacristy, 23, 58, 119, 123, 127, 143, 147, 153, 154, 162.
Salvatoris ecclesia, 120.
Sancta, 58, 61, 106 *sq.*, 128, 129, 138, 139, 159, 165.
—— The ceremony of the, 61, 106 *sq.*, 138, 139, 165.
Sanctus, *sanctus*, *sanctus*, 5, 61, 90, 138, 139, 158, 173, 184.
Saturninus, Martin and Illidius, Relics of SS., 93.
Saviour, Church of St. (*i. e.* the Lateran Basilica), 121.
Scamnum, 124.
Scarves of office, 32.
Schola cantorum (the buildings), 39–41.
—— —— (the singers), 5, 37, 38, 128, 136, 144. See *Choir*.
—— *defensorum*. See *Counsellors*.
—— *notariorum*. See *Notaries*.
Screen, 24, 160, 162.
Scriniarii, 46.
Scripture lessons, 16, 22, 64, 65, 73 *sq.*, 130, 131, 155, 156, 181, 182.
Scrutinies, 82.
Scyphus, 25, 120, 134, 142. See *Communion-Bowl*.
Scyphi cum ducibus, 25.
Second chalice, 160. See *Calix*.
Secret, 61, 87. See *Oratio super oblata*.
Secretarium, 124, 126, 128, 146. See *Sacristy*.
Secretary, 46, 47, 125, 133, 135, 137, 141, 157, 160, 162. See *Secundicerius notariorum*.
Secundicerius notariorum, 46, 47, 124, 132, 134, 136, 140.
Secundus scholae cantorum, 41, 126. See *Succentor*.
Sedan-chair, 23, 123, 125.
Sella, 120, 124.
Sellaris, 122, 124.
Senatorium, 132, 142, 144.
Seneca, philosopher, 43, 48.
Senior bishop, 154. See *Chief bishop*.
Seraphic hymn, 90.
Sergius I, Pope, 4–6, 17, 20, 21, 109.
—— II, 40, 93.

Sergius, treasurer, 47.
Sermon, 65, 79 *sq.*, 182.
Severinus, Pope, 4.
Sexton, 18, 53 *sq.*, 123. See *Mansionarii.*
—— junior, 147.
Shorthand, 43, 44.
—— clerks, 44.
Sigillum, 120, 124.
Signum lectionis, 132.
Silken pall, 158.
Silvester, St., Pope, 15, 17, 31.
—— —— and St. Martin, Church of, 21.
'Silvia,' (Etheria), pilgrim to Jerusalem, 11, 14, 70, 91, 92.
Sindon, 118, 120, 134, 138.
Singers, 29, 58.
Sipontum in Apulia, 45.
Siricius, Pope, 107.
Sisinnius, St., 18.
Sixtus I, St., Pope, 5, 90, 103.
—— —— Feast of, 176.
—— II, xv.
—— III, 15, 17.
Socrates, historian, 19.
Solemn orisons on Wednesday and Friday before Easter, 65.
Sozomen, historian, 12, 34, 79, 81.
Speciosus, subdeacon, 45.
Station, 32 *sq.*, 37, 122, 123, 148, 149.
—— announcement of the next, 142, 143, 163, 177.
Stational chalice, 156.
—— collet, 119.
—— cross, 33.
—— mass, 48.
—— set of vessels, 25, 26, 33.
Stephen, Church of St., 53.
—— II, Pope, 42, 46.
—— III, 5–7, 33, 43, 47, 93.
—— V, 42
—— *primicerius defensorum*, 46.
—— treasurer, 47.
Steps, pair of wooden, 54.
Stole, 31, 32.
Strabo, Walafrid, 71, 88.
Strainers, 25, 121, 157, 160. See *Colatorium.*
Stratores laici, 118.
Subdeacon, 37, 39, 76, 127.
—— attendant, 58, 60–62, 124–129, 131–138, 140–143, 154, 157, 161.
—— district, 37, 44, 59–62, 116–119, 122, 125–147, 154, 156, 157, 159.
—— epistoler, 120, 121, 130, 131, 155.
—— oblationer, 4, 38, 107, 134, 136, 137, 146, 147, 154, 157.
—— precentor, 154
Subdiaconus. See *Subdeacon.*
—— *qui lecturus.* See *Subdeacon, Epistoler.*
—— *qui sequitur.* See *Subdeacon-attendant.*
—— *sequens.* See *Subdeacon-attendant.*
—— *teperita*, 38.
Subdiaconi exspoliati, 30, 68.
Subpulmentarius, 49.
Succentor, 41, 127. See *Secundus scholae cantorum.*
Sudary, 26, 61. See *Mappula, Offertory-veil, Sindon.*
Suetonius, historian, 43, 48.
Superhumeral, 31.
Super oblata, the prayer, 61, 87, 172.
Supplementarius, 49, 122.
Supplices te rogamus, 101, 175.
Supra quae, 98, 175.
Sursum cor, or *corda*, 172, 184.
Susanna, Church of St., 21, 22.
Symmachus, St., Pope, 21, 28, 31.

Taperers, 156. See *Candlesticks, Cereostatarii.*
Te igitur, 96, 97.
Telesphorus, Pope, 71, 72.
Tertius scholae cantorum, 41, 126.
Tertullian, 77, 90, 112, 113, 184–186, 188.
Theodatus, chancellor, 35.
Theodinus, district subdeacon, 35.
Theodora, widow, 52.
Theodore, Pope, 4.
—— archbishop of Canterbury, 18, 86.
—— sexton, 53.
Theodoric, *scriniarius*, 46.
Theodorus, district notary, 46.
Theodosius, bishop, 10.
Theophanius, treasurer, 47.
Theophylactus, chancellor, 46.
Throne, 133, 160, 161.
Thurible, 147. See *Censer, Incense.*
Thursdays in Lent, 32.
Thymiamaterium, 122, 126, 128, 132. See *Censer, Incense.*
Titular churches, 54, 107.
Titus, Emperor, 43.
Tommasi, Cardinal, 107.
Towel, 145.
Tract, 59, 74.
Treasurer, 47, 119, 121, 141, 145. See *Saccellarius.*
Tribune of a basilica, xv, xvi, xviii, 9.
Tribune-notaries, 43, 44.
Tribunes, 160.
Trisagion (*i. e.* the *Agios o theos*), 92.
Turibulum, 146. See *Censer, Incense*
Tusculum, Bishop of, 33.

Unde et memores, 175.
Unvesting, 162.

Valentine, Church of St., 21.
Vandals, 17.
Vasa, 120.
Vatican, 17, 93.
Veils of the ciborium, 20, 112.
Vela ciborii, 20.
Vert, Dom Claude de, 67.
Vessels for the celebration of mass, 121.
Vestararius, 49. See *Sacristan*.
Vesterarius, 120. See *Sacristan*.
Vestes altaris, 20.
Vestiarium, 120.
Vestiarius, 49, 118. See *Sacristan*.
Vesting, 23, 124, 125, 153.
Vicar, the papal, 42, 43, 47, 119, 141, 162.
—— —— —— notary of, 47, 48, 141.
Vicedominus, 42, 43, 118, 140. See *Vicar*.
Vice-succentor, 127. See *Tertius Scholae*.
Vigil service, 11, 66, 77.
Vigilantius, Spanish writer, 14.
Vigilius, Pope, 17, 43.
Vitalian, Pope, 20.
Vitalis, Church of St., at Ravenna, 28.

Wardens, 54.
Washhand-basons, 121, 123.
Water-offering, 60, 136, 137, 157.
White tunics, 153. See *Alb*.
Women's side of the church, 135, 145, 157, 160.
Words of administration, 110.

Xenodochium, 35. See *Hostelry*.

Zephyrinus, Pope, 87, 107, 114.

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1680

cclesiastical estments.

'Went to see the Abbey: viewed the exceedingly rich copes and robes: was troubled to see so much superstition remaining in Protestant churches: tapers, basins, and a richly embroidered IHS upon the high Altar; the picture of God the Father, like an old man, the Son as a young man, richly embroidered upon their copes. Lord, open their eyes, that the substance of religion be not at length turned into shadows and ceremonies.'—*Ralph Thoresby's Diary*, i. 60, 61.

1681

'January 1. Afternoon returned to Durham, 2 die Dom. In the forenoon went to the Minster; was somewhat amazed at their ornaments, tapers, rich embroidered copes, vestments, &c. Dr. Brevin, a native of France, discoursed on the birth of Christ.'—*Ibid*, i. 75.

1684

*'In Wats' glossary, published in 1684, he says, with reference to the word *Capa*,—"*Coaps* nos Angli dicimus et in liturgia adhuc iis utimur." '—*British Magazine*, xv., 669. 1839.

1709

*'Rich copes preserved and made use of by the Episteler and Gospeler in the Cathedral Church of Durham so late as the year 1709.'—*Ibid.* xv. 423. 1839.

1713

*'*Until other Order*'.—Which other order, at least in the method prescribed by this Act [1 Eliz. c. 2, s. 25] was never yet made: and therefore, *legally*, the Ornaments of Ministers in performing Divine Service, are the

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